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cide to make the *pongipongi,* the chief Momotu is sent at once to notify the other lineage. If decision is made by the Haa Ngata Motua, it is not necessary for the Haa Havea to bring gifts, though they will be present in court when the Haa Ngata Motua appear before the Tui Kanokupolu. The death of any of the king's relatives is an occasion for the *pongipongi,* though not the only one. It may take place several times a year. For the Haa Ngata Motua, Ata sets the time. To make the presentation to the Tui Kanokupolu before three o'clock in the afternoon is an offense for which Ata will be blamed. The Tui Kanokupolu is apt to make some caustic remarks, and all of the Haa Ngata Motua must seek pardon (*hu*) from the Tui Kanokupolu, when each chief puts on a huge *taovala* mat reaching up his back and over his head as a sign of humility. He also dons a necklace of Tahitian chestnut leaves and sits like a matapule before the Tui Kanokupolu. The posture thus assumed is cross-legged, with the hands clasped and the two index fingers resting together and pointing forward. The head must be bowed so that the supplicant does not look at the ruler. Motuapuaka, the Tui Kanokupolu's matapule, then makes intercession for the offenders. The matapules of the offending Haa Ngata Motua sit behind the offending chiefs and cannot make intercession for their masters.

When the *pongipongi* is made at the proper time, Motuapuaka requests the presenting chiefs to show their gifts. The covers of the baskets of food are lifted by the commoners who have carried them in for the chiefs. In addition to the Haa Ngata Motua or Haa Havea chiefs who are making the presentation, all of the chiefs of the Tui Kanokupolu's court are supposed to be present.

Similar presentations of food, also called *pongipongi,* are said to have been made anciently to the Tui Tonga.

A ceremony in which the proper representatives of chiefly families present *kie* mats to a great chief or to the king is called *tookie.* It is held on occasions such as deaths, marriages, or great feasts. The term *tookie* might refer also to the division of such *kie* gifts among the members of the family of the one to whom they were presented. The general making of presents to a chief is called *tukufatongia.*

Although I was not present at any presentation of food to the Tui Kanokupolu, I saw in 1920 processions of people bringing food to the house of Mr. Watkin, President of the Free Church, who was temporarily staying at the house of the Free Church minister in the village of Pangai, Lifuka Island. On October 4, thirty to forty people, mostly women, bearing vegetables and fruits assembled at the house of the mayor of Pangai. When all were assembled, they formed a procession, the women wearing great *taovala* mats as signs of respect and humility, and several pairs of men at the end of the line bearing bunches of coconuts and bananas slung from poles on

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only the matapule and chiefs wore tapa *vala*, the *tua* men wore a *vala* of *losi* leaves, called *sisi losi*, but the *tua* women wore these only when poverty-stricken. The *tua* wore tapa only on dress-occasions, and then it was a worn out piece, descending to them from a previous owner of higher station.

In the presence of superiors or on occasions necessitating an outward show of respect, the *taovala*, an old mat, was worn over the regular *vala*. young members of a chiefly family, both men and women, often wore *longangatu*, ordinary tapa treated with coconut oil to make it smell sweet.

Anciently it was the practice for chiefs to wear the *vala* or skirt-like garment to half-way between ankle and knee, otherwise they were said to be "cooks" or "descendants of cooks," for cooks wore the *vala* to knees or above. It was permissible, however, for a man to wear his *vala* very high to show his tattooing.

The combs of chiefs and commoners were distinctive. The commoner's comb (*helutuaniu*) was made of coconut "needles" (rib of the frond) fastened together with fine twine. The chiefs' comb (*helutoa*) was of hardwood (some of turtle shell) which was cut entirely through with fanciful patterns.

Many of the privileges which chiefs and matapules enjoyed were prohibited to commoners. The fresh-water dug wells were enjoyed as bathing places only by chiefs. Commoners might not play certain games, notably the billiard-like game called *lafo*. If caught playing this game they would be punished, perhaps even with death.

If a chief calls at a commoner's home, the commoner accompanies him on his return to his quarters. There he talks with him. In approaching or passing a chief, or when spoken to by a chief, a commoner would assume a stooped or bowed posture called *tulolo* or *punou*. If passing a chief, he would say *tulou* (please excuse my passing). If on horseback, he would dismount.

All pigeons (*lupe*) caught were taken to chiefs, and eaten only by them. If commoners ate pigeons they were punished by whipping or even death. Pigeon-snaring was perhaps the most popular of chiefly sports. A host of words refer to it. Many of them are used metaphorically of women, successful love-making being likened to successful pigeon-snaring.

The following are notes which were set down from the lips of a commoner (here called X) born in Vavau, and who was 58 years of age. They are of interest as giving his outlook upon social stratification. Doubtless the pride of higher connections exhibited in his remarks is typical of the attitude of many Tongan commoners.

The name which X bears is that assigned at birth and is expressive of courage. It also occurs in Tonga as the title of one of the Tui Tonga's navigators or fishermen. X's maternal grandfather fought at Pea for the Tui Kanokupolu George I, and was

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In some games the chief is given a handicap over opponents of lesser rank. In the game of dart throwing (*sika mamao*) in which the greatest distance thrown determines the winner, if the chief's dart were almost the winner, it would be turned over lengthwise so as to lie ahead of the leading dart. My informant had an impression that the chief's dart might be turned over three times, that is, the chief be given a handicap of three lengths, but not more. From this custom originated the proverbial expression *sii kae amo* (small but successful), which implies that although one has not displayed much energy or skill in an enterprise yet he has succeeded thanks to the assistance of someone else.

The *fekesike* method of fishing was never used by anyone but a chief who could muster the necessary numbers required (43), consequently a *fekesike* rope always belonged to a chief.

Not every chief has the word *tui* (lord) in his title. Various informants were under the impression that the term *tui* in connection with a name indicated higher rank than *eiki* (chief). One informant said that chiefs with the word *tui* in the title (specifically Tui Haa Teiho and Tui Haa Ngana) were in line to become Tui Tonga in event of the lack of a direct successor, whereas a chief like Ulukalala or Malupo was not.

Special rest places, mounds (*esi*), with a shade tree growing on or beside them, were built for chiefs. Sunshade or picnic shelters (*falekakala*, house of flowers) were also erected. The *esi* were given names. (See 25.)

A chief's sitting position is legs crossed and left foot on right knee (*faefakaheka*). When sitting among his inferiors, a pile of mats (*langolango* is provided to raise him above the common level.

In Tonga there seem to have been no official jesters, but at times certain individuals, termed *fakaaluma* or *fakatakataka*, who were considered particularly witty, took it upon themselves to amuse the chiefs. For example, Kaho, a man of Vavau, acted as *fakaaluma* for Akauola (grandfather of the present Akauola) and made fun of the people. He would say anything to make Akauola laugh. On one occasion he had himself tied like a pig and carried to a feast. My informant did not know whether this man was appointed. Akauola is one of the modern landed royal navigators (*toutai*).

A warrior who killed ten men and brought the heads as evidence was highly regarded and might be raised to the rank of a matapule or a petty chief (*eikisii*) and be given land; or again he might be given the privilege of drinking his chief's kava when it was called.

Anciently the staff (*tokotoko*) and the fly whisk (*fue*) were used by kings and chiefs but not by matapules. To-day, it is said, anyone may use them. The staff was used formerly not only in walking but to lean upon when addressing an assemblage. To-day the term *tokotoko* applies to the

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is to be found in the story of Tui Tofua (*26*, p. 77), one version of which specifically states that the first-born sons were Tui Tofua's associates.

A chief's virgin daughter seems to have been called *taupoou*, a Samoan term which is probably equivalent to the Tongan *taahine*. Girls, classed as *taupoou*, at times took part in dances, sometimes leading, and usually wore finer garments than their dancing associates. The *taupoou* or *taahine* chewed and made kava for visiting high chiefs. She did no cooking, but might sweep the interior and the immediate exterior of the house. Orange juggling was one of her pastimes. There seems to have been no official *taupoou* as in Samoa.

The term *manaia* (a man particularly successful in love affairs) which in Samoa is applied to the chief's son, apparently is not used in Tonga as a title, though evidence is conflicting, but is used in personal names. If *manaia* and *taupoou* were recognized positions in Tonga, undoubtedly early writers would have mentioned them.

Among special names for girls of rank those referring to the *lupe* or large fruit pigeon (*Globicera pacifica*) were often used. Two examples of such names for chiefly girls are Lupefolau and Lupepauu.

Special care was taken of the complexion of girls of rank. The following processes were used: (a) *kaukautuitui*, the rubbing of the entire body with chewed candlę nut (*tuitui*); (b) painting of entire body, excluding lips, with a mixture (*valienga*) of *lolo* oil and turmeric (*enga*). This was done twice a week on alternate weeks and after several hours was washed off, and the skin dressed with oil, to produce a smooth glistening surface; (c) keeping in shade to prevent sunburn.

After bathing a chief's daughter previous to her retiring, her female attendants chew scented fruits and flowers, and mixing the masticated material with scented oil rub it over her body.

A chief's daughter wore her hair long on every part of the head, and braided the side strands over the ears.

The female attendants upon the daughter of a chief did not allow her to eat too much. This tapu was enforced to prevent the overdevelopment of her abdominal region.

When a chief's daughter ate or sat in her house, she was surrounded by a mat screen and seated on a high cushion (*fakamolu*) composed of mats and soft tapa. The purpose of the soft cushion was to keep the skin of her upper legs and buttocks soft and smooth, unblemished by any hard thickness or marks that might result from sitting on a hard surface.

A treatment applied only to the daughters of high chiefs is called *fakatafa*. After an evening bath and oiling from head to feet, the girl's legs were tied together just above the knees with a piece of fine soft tapa, and she was

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laid upon her side to sleep. This sleeping position (*tokonaki*), lying on the shoulder with the arms straightened, prevented the elbows from being exposed to pressure or other contact that would mar their beauty. The tying of the knees was for the express purpose of insuring the maiden against sexual attack on the part of a foolish lover or malicious enemy.

A chief's daughter or chief's women of youth and beauty sit with the feet half folded under and crossed at one side in a manner as to protect the ankle bones from possible pressure against a hard surface, a position known as *faite*, thus insuring a smooth skin over the ankles, a mark of beauty.

The "corset" (*nonoo*) for chief-girls consists of a short piece of tapa wrapped about the small of the waist and the abdomen and tied in front. Its purpose is to suppress the abdomen and give the waist a small appearance.

## Loau

A famous chief in Tongan legends is Loau who is called the Tui Haamea from Haamea, a district in Vahe Loto, Tongatabu, which according to a prominent Vavau informant was the seat of residence of the Tui Haamea, Tui Haa Loau, and the Tui Haa Tuunga.

The origin of Loau is unknown. There were two and perhaps three chiefs of the name of Loau. The earlier seems to be Loau Tuputoka who is mentioned in the story of the turtle Sangone (26, pp. 49-54). A second Loau bears the additional appellation of Tongafisifonua and to him is attributed the voyage to the horizon (26, pp. 139-152). A possible third Loau is he to whom is attributed the revision of the government of the Tui Tonga Takalaua. Apparently Loau Tuputoka became the father-in-law of the tenth Tui Tonga, Momo. According to an informant of the island of Foa, three formerly important Haapai chiefs were the offspring of Loau: Taufa Tofua of Tofua Island, Fanua Lofanga of Lofanga Island, and Kava Moungaone of Moungaone Island. These sons were sent to their respective abodes in Haapai while Loau continued to reside in Haamea in Tongatabu. The name of his residence (*api*) was Maananga.

Loau is said to have been able to foretell the future and to have cognizance of distant contemporary events; whence arose the saying, *toka i maananga* (first in *maananga*), an expression used to-day as equivalent of omniscient in speaking of the Deity. Whether or not these are attributes of all of the Loau chiefs or only one, I cannot say.

Loau is said also to have resided in Lifuka Island and a district there is still called Haa Loau, although the people of that district claim no descent from Loau.

It is difficult to assign with certainty the period of the rule of the Loau

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but have served both the Tui Kanokupolu and the Tui Tonga. Filise Vaitaiki was the present Kama's pre-matapule name.

At Nomuka Island on October 1, 1920, I witnessed the appointment of a minor matapule to office by the governor of Haapai. During the ceremony Pahulu received the title of Pilimokaupua, the name of a matapule from Maufanga, Tongatabu, and which refers to a little hill in Maufanga. (One informant said that the hill in Maufanga is called Kaupua and another that Pili and Kaupua were two chiefs of Maufanga.)

After the governor had assigned the title, kava was served and the matapule was called by his new name. The last Pilimokaupua had no son, hence he was succeeded in title by his brother's son, Pahulu, who on his father's side at least was of matapule blood. By receiving this title the social position of Pahulu was materially enhanced and his rank advanced.

To-day matapules use staff and fly whisk like Samoan *tulafale*. When addressing an assembly in which high chiefs are present, a matapule stands; in a *faikava*, he sits; in an assembly where chiefs are not present, he may sit or stand as he likes. A chiefly informant said that the use of fly whisk and staff by matapules is a late practice, that anciently these objects were used by chiefs only.

It seems to be the custom for the prospective heir to a matapule title to serve as a substitute in the absence of the title holder. In the absence of both the title bearer and the prospective heir, the relative next in line, even such collateral relatives as cousins, may serve. A younger brother of a matapule, serving in his place is called matapule *tehina* (younger brother).

The chief matapules of the Tui Kanokupolu are Lauaki and Motuapuaka who reside in Tongatabu. Their representatives or substitutes in other islands are: Haapai, Kofe and Afeaki; Vavau, Fotu and Afu Haa Laufuli; Niuatoputapu, Sika and Kaufanga; Niuafoou, Masila and Haufano.

Mariner lists certain occupations which are followed by matapules. The occupation of *toutai vaka* or navigator was an important one. The two principal matapule navigators were Leka for the Tui Tonga and Ula for the Tui Kanokupolu. Like the great matapule Lauaki, Ula originally served the Tui Tonga, but was later sent by the Tui Haa Takalaua to serve the Tui Kanokupolu. An old poem tells how Ula and Leka bridge the gap between the Tui Tonga and the Tui Kanokupolu. Ulamoleka (that is, Ula and Leka) was a chief adopted by Leka. He said of himself: "Kauhalauta (Tui Tonga side) and Kauhalalalo (Tui Kanokupolu side) are far apart, but I am the one who brings them close together, referring to the fact that he had the names of the two *toutai*.

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the new appointee. This form of ceremonial installation (*fakanofo*) prevailed from the Tui Tonga down to the lowest matapule. When a god became incarnate in a priest, the kava circle was formed with the priest presiding. Matters to be discussed with the king or a high chief were broached at the king's kava circle, which comprised the principal chiefs attendant at his court. Some executions took place within the circle (26, p. 67).

The formal drinking of kava has perhaps its most important social aspect in the visualization of the rank of the participants through the seating and through the order of serving.

With one or two exceptions, no chief might sit in the formal kava circle without an attendant matapule. When the Tui Tonga, Tui Haa Takalaua, or Tui Kanokupolu presided at a kava circle, he was flanked by two matapule. In the formal kava circle only titled persons may sit; the president of such a circle seems always to have been the title-holder of highest rank. With the exception of the Tamaha and perhaps the Female Tui Tonga, who were title holders, women seem not to have presided in kava circles except at marriages.

The formal circle, therefore, comprises the assemblage of the representatives of the ancestors, the first holders of the titles. The first holders of the titles of Tui Tonga, of matapule Lauaki, of Tui Pelehake, and of Tui Loloko, were the putative sons of a god, Tangaloa Eitumatupua; the original holders of all other titles were the offspring of mortals. There seems, however, to have been a certain equating of gods and ancestors, for a priest possessed by a god presided as would the king. Moreover the Tui Kanokupolu is called Taliai Tupou, the name of his patron god. I suspect that the title holders in the kava circle impersonate the ancestral first holders of titles and perhaps are even regarded as their temporary incarnations. (For example, Lauaki is called Maliepo, the name of his ancestor who descended from heaven.) This probability is strengthened by the fact that whenever a chief is accompanied by his matapule, formal conduct is required of him.

The following terms refer to the kava ceremony:

**Alofi.** The kava circle.

**Apaapa.** The alofi or circle of the Tui Tonga's kava party; the masters of ceremonies in a kava party, that is, the matapules who sit on each side of the chief who presides in the kava party; to sit next to the chief in the kava party.

**Faikava.** Literally, to do kava, a kava party.

**Fakamatua.** A movement from one sitting posture to another. For example, if a group of men in a kava circle are sitting tailor fashion (*fakataane*) so close together that their knees are touching, and others come to join them, the president may say "Fakamatua", at which every one turns to the right obliquely, thus making room for the new arrivals.

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**Fakamuifonua.** A method of making kava; a very formal procedure employed only in the making of kava for the Tui Tonga, the Tui Kanokupolu, or an important chief. 276 574 192

**Fakataane.** The sitting position of the Tongan men, knees widely extended, flat on ground, feet folded beneath legs, body inclined forward, elbows across upper legs, hands near lap, left hand taking care of lower garment (*vala*), keeping it pulled up from behind and between legs when necessary, as when assuming the position and rising. This was the ceremonial sitting position. At a *fono* or kava circle a commoner could be killed for shifting to the slightest degree from this position. At times of entertaining it was extremely discourteous for a man to sit in any other position, unless he were infirm, or had some other physical excuse. It was tapu for a woman to sit in this fashion. [516] [689] [576] [562]

**Fakatakape.** To clean the bowl rim with *fau* fiber, as soon as the *fau* is thrown into the bowl. The *fau* is passed twice around the rim, wrung out, and thrown back and away from the mixer, as in the later part of the process.

**Fakataue.** To mix very strong kava in a new bowl and bathe the edge of the bowl repeatedly with the strainer, to give the bowl's interior the kava stain—a yellowish deposit which adheres to the bowl.

**Fakatomo.** The central tap root or body of a large kava root, not chopped into small pieces, but left intact. For a great chief's kava.

**Fatuauho.** Thick kava made from the small roots of the plant.

**Fau.** Fiber of the inner bark of the hau (*Hibiscus sp.*). A bunch of this fiber serves as a strainer.

**Fono.** The food or relish distributed at a great drinking of kava. The kava and the particular *fono* that accompanies it are distributed simultaneously, but the food is nowadays not eaten, but collected again. Formerly it was eaten. Sometimes ten or more *fono* are served, according to the number of mixings of kava. Should the same kava be used for a second infusion, an accompanying *fono* is not required. The *fono* is divided into three lots by one of the two matapules who sit beside the presiding chief. The first lot is for the chief; the second and third lots, divided by the matapule, are for their respective sides of the ring. [264] [624] [622]

**Kava.** The plant (*Piper methysticum*); the drink made therefrom; a piece of the root from which the drink is to be made.

**Luluki.** The root of the kava plant.

**Malumelmua.** The order by the matapule who is master of ceremonies to the attendant who carves pork, instructing him to cut the back of the roast into two equal portions. [624]

**Pelu.** A drinking cup folded from the banana leaf, having two puckered corners tied with banana stem fiber. The drinker holds the cup by the two corners or ears. Used for the drinking of kava on certain ceremonial occasions. Used at the Queen's kava circle at her coronation. For most modern kava parties a half coconut shell serves as a cup. [415] [415]

**Toua.** The place behind the bowl in which sit the relatives of the chiefs who are in the kava circle.

**Uhunoa.** Refers to matapule not visiting a chief's house with a piece of kava, but going instead to other peoples' houses without kava.

## DIFFERENCES OF PROCEDURE

The late rise of the Tui Kanokupolu makes the titles connected with the kava ceremony for this office less ancient than many of those connected with the ceremony of the traditionally older office of Tui Tonga. The Tui 276 574 643

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son was never operated on alone but always with companions. There was no special tapu connected with operating on a chief's son.

The man performing the operation was called *faikaukau* or *faitefe*. He was not a chief's appointee. The only factor in determining who could be an operator was skill, involving such factors as a cool head, steady hand, previous experience, and that type of personality that tends to inspire confidence. The operator would never be the initiate's brother or cousin, but might be his father, uncle, or any other elderly man reputed for skill in the community. An informal council of interested fathers selected the operator who was to officiate.

Preceding the operation the boys bathed themselves thoroughly in the sea. This bath was called *jufulu*. After drying on a tapa towel, they were brought one at a time to the place of operation. This was usually situated outdoors under a large shady tree, the species of tree being of no importance. The spectators were the adult male relatives of the initiates. The rock, mat or large tree root on which each boy sat naked is called *hekehcka*. The operator sat on the ground in front of the boy in the usual tailor fashion of Tongan men.

The cutting instrument now used is a razor. Formerly it is said to have been a bamboo knife or sharp shell. A piece of unprinted or uncolored tapa (*fetaaki*) is now wrapped round and round the razor blade, leaving only the tip of the blade exposed. The following is a description of the operation:

A piece of bamboo was placed over the head of the penis, the foreskin drawn down over this, then the operator, with one quick stroke of the razor, or more if necessary, slit the foreskin throughout its entire superior length.

Then the operator chewed the leaves of a fern called *laufale* and squeezed some of the juice of the masticated plant on to the incision. The cut foreskin being doubled back around the medial portion of the penis was wrapped with the leaves of *kavakava-ulie* from which the large fibers had been extracted. The whole was well bandaged with unprinted tapa. A girdle of this material was passed about the waist and between the legs to hold the penis against the belly. The wound was dressed twice daily.

The boys, having all been operated on, were confined in a house together. No one might visit them, but their adult male relatives. Food was brought to them. They could leave the house only to defecate and urinate. The operator instructed them in the tapus they were to follow. They were told not to think of women. If one suffered from erection, he pulled hard at a piece of rope (called *tukutaopeanga*) suspended from the rafters and the erection left him. Other tapus forbade the eating of anything sweet, the drinking of anything but water, and only one cup of that a day, the eating of anything red, at the present day the eating of any tinned goods, the taking of a bath for five days and nights, and the performance of any heavy work or walking.

In urinating the patient squatted down on his left knee, the right knee high, the body bent low over the right knee, the weight of the body supported by the right hand, while with the left hand he served himself. This position prevented the urine from running back on to the erectly held penis. If it should run back on to the penis, a swelling is said to have resulted. This caused extreme pain and even loss of life. It was called *mimi* and the squatting position described above was called *mimifakatafitafi*.

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[1832-1834]



Then Taufaahau went to receive instructions from Ulukalala. And Finau said Maheuliuli, Taufaeilaolao, Pomaui, Ngutu, and some others were to die. Taufaahau said, "All right," and he came and told me the command of Finau as to the people who should be executed.

I said, "It is more in keeping with you, that they should not die, as that is the way of the new order of things, and they have been conquered by you two."

He replied to me, "Well! speak to Ulukalala, as the troops have come with weapons to put them to death."

And I sat down in Ulukalala's presence and said, "Finau!" And he turned towards me, and I said, "Pardon me while I speak. It is not in keeping for me to speak to you, but you must forgive me and remember our Lord and also Taufaahau and not let anything come to pass, because of Taufaahau and also yourself. Don't do any murder, as it is bad for Christianity. If it is desirable, let them sail for some other country."

And Finau answered, "All right! You and Taufaahau please yourselves, as you are wise, but how many are the warriors of Maheuliuli?"

Just then Taufaahau came and said to him, "You say to spare their lives. Did they not fight the Haapai warriors and did I not go and bring them like a man servant?"

And after Finau had spoken for some time, Taufaahau said, "I will go and come back with them." And Taufaahau went out and beckoned to some men to go and bring them. Tavake came and sat on his (Taufaahau's) knees and Maheuliuli rested against his back and Lausii rested on Maheuliuli's back, while Ngutu squeezed himself under Taufaahau's knees.

While Taufaahau wept for the men, I sat and begged, "It is not in keeping with your profession for them to die, and if they are to die let them die somewhere else, so that we may be clear." And Finau in anger left and went to the beach, but he followed my suggestion, that they should be allowed to sail away. And word was brought that Finau had commanded that the Lofanga vessel should be got ready for Lua and his family to sail in and that the vessel from Leimatua was to be brought for us as it was bigger.

And early in the morning the chiefs went and sat with lowered heads in the presence of Finau, while Finau said to Lua, "Go to any place where you can get together a few warriors." He meant it chiefly for those that should have died, and after that the vessel was got ready by the Vavau people. Taufaahau was the one that was kind and gave them the vessel and the provisions and the chiefs were led down to the sea, and put on board and they sailed and they only knew when at sea, that the ropes were cut off the mast, so they called in at Hunga and mended them and then sailed to Moungaone and anchored there, then left for Tongatabu.

[In 1833 Ulukalala IV died and Taufaahau was appointed Tui Vavau by the chiefs of Vavau, thus carrying out Ulukalala's dying wish.]

## Taufaahau's Campaign Against Uiha

Uiha Island, together with Tungua and Nomuka, was one of the last of the Haapai group to accept Christianity. Taufaahau visited Uiha in 1833 and sought to introduce Methodism, but the chiefs and people declined to accept it. In 1834 he again visited Uiha and by a stratagem imposed the new religion. When he arrived many of the people were fishing. He professed friendliness and induced 160 of the men to sail to Vavau to obtain pigs for him. By prearrangement these men were made prisoners in Vavau. Deprived of the bulk of her fighting men, Uiha could not resist the destruction of her temples and the imposition of the new religion.

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heiteans, they use an expression of thankfulness for whatever they receive, always lifting it over their heads. (66, p. xlix.)

Relatives, close friends of either or opposite sex, greeted each other, after periods of separation, with the nose-pressure. Among commoners this was called *uma*. Among chiefs the same caress was called *fekita*. A commoner never kissed a chief in this manner—excepting a common woman taken by a chief as a wife or concubine. No one so kissed the Tui Tonga but his favorite wives and his immediate relatives. Others kissed his foot or his hand, according to their rank, by touching the nose thereto.

There were three forms of *uma* or *fekita*: the pressing of nose end to nose end; the pressing of the sides of the noses together; the crossing of noses and pressing together of nostrils. These various methods have no specific names. There were formerly but two correct methods of kissing, namely the first and third; no one but a "country fellow of low birth" would employ the second. The first was employed by relatives and friends, and the third was employed by man and wife or by sweethearts.

In passing, friends always had a conventional word of greeting. Acquaintances used this greeting if of generally equal rank. Enemies usually ignored one another. This salutation made constant use of the term *malo* (well done, it is good), implying praise or approval. For example, if A walked along a road and passed B who was pulling weeds by the roadside, A would say: "Malo e hua" (Well done your pulling weeds). B would answer: "Io, malo e fononga" (Yes, well done your walking by).

Or two men pass each other in fishing boats: A says, "Malo e toutai" (Well done your fishing). B responds, "Io, malo e toutai" (Yes, well done your fishing).

Also, A, carrying a burden by means of a *haamo* (shoulder) stick, passes B who is digging yams. A says, "Malo e keli" (Well done your digging). B responds, "Io, malo e haamo" (Yes, well done your carrying a burden).

The special greetings proper to different ranks are given in the list of Tui Tonga and chiefly words.

Delicacy and circumlocution in referring to another's affliction are marked in Tongan conversation. An excellent example is afforded by Thomson's account (54, pp. 279-280) of a leper in Parliament.

The act of registering fear, inferiority, subjection, repentance, or humility is called *hu*, which is done by placing a necklace of Tahitian chestnut (*ifi*) leaves about the neck and sitting with bowed head and hands folded tightly in the lap.

To serve food on a green banana leaf, called *fakaloufusimata*, is a mark of distinction to the one so served. The term *malangafao* refers to the custom at a distribution of food of people rising to fill their baskets with food. Gifts presented at a feast are thrown down.

Men at times sit in the same style as Samoans, one foot on the opposite knee. The more usual style is tailor fashion. (See page 126.)

Babies are carried in a cloth slung over the back and passing under a woman's left arm and over her right shoulder. The baby is usually placed with both feet pointing to the left. They are carried astride the hip, too.

Men wear their shirts tucked inside of the *vala*, or skirt worn about the waist. This cloth is longer than the Samoan *lavalava*, reaching to below the knees and often nearly to the ankles.

Women wear their tunics hanging outside the *vala* around the waist.

Men frequently wear a flower, usually hibiscus, over the ear.

The eyebrows are frequently lifted in assent while listening to the conversation of another.

Diving into water from a height is done feet first, arms out.

Men shave the hair from the legs.

Women shave off the pubic hairs and pull out the axillary hairs.

Men use pieces of coconut husk as toilet wipers, while women use old tapa. The Samoans use stones, a custom regarded contemptuously by the Tongans.

Old men wear the hair shorter than young men. Women, after the menopause (*paa*), also wear the hair quite short.

1: Gifford E-4,5 (1920-1921) 1929 OU9 Tonga OU9

[Lifuka Island]



In making obeisance to the god on the occasion of some disaster, the people would place around their necks wreaths of *ifi* leaves and don white tapa on their heads. They would remain outside and make obeisance. If their purpose was the cure of a sick person, the person would be brought on a kind of litter or bier and placed outside where the people were sitting. The patient would be massaged and anointed by the priest and would recover. 776 782 755 [757]

In the holy place were various trees. Should anyone pluck of them that person would fall down near unto death. If taken to the god, he would recover. If the carriage to the god's house was not speedy, death would result. 776 778 784 753

When the god entered into Havea, his priest, it was noticed that Havea trembled. His face changed color and he "looked dreadful." Havea had concubines who resided in the place called Manikolo. These were allotted separate periods with Havea and slept with him in pairs, one to be with him in the day time and the other to be with him in the night time. 776 793 [787] [595]

The people said prayers to Uluenga. The god had his graveyard which was called Haa Fakanapa. 776 782

There was a god in Koulo, Lifuka, whose name was Tangakina. The name of his premises where he had a home, was Nahakalau. People prayed and made supplication to him. If persons were sick they would go to the god's place. They remained outside of his house, however, bending the body in respect. The god also had a water hole called Faatoto, which means "often blood stained." [778] [516] [778] [823]

## Deities of Foa Island

In addition to the account of the god Tui Haa Fakafanua (p. 297), the informant Mesake Lomu of Fotua, gave me this report of another god of Foa Island:

Fakatoufifita was the god of the chief Niukapu in Fangaleounga, Foa. The people prayed to Fakatoufifita and if any person was sick, they would cut off the finger of another and take it to Fakatoufifita as an offering, which was wrapped in an unfinished piece of tapa (*fetaaki*). The patient would immediately recover. [755]

The god (priest?) lived in his house in Fangaleounga on the premises known as Fungasi. There was a sacred basket of the god's, inside of which were two objects, a whale's tooth and a parcel of turmeric. [793] [778]

## Deities of Haafeva Island

Tonu and Lahe, presumably male deities, were mentioned as being associated with a well or spring which was regarded as their property. The spring is called Matahiva. 776 778 [823]

## Deities of Fotuhaa Island

My informant did not know the name of the patron deity of Fotuhaa, but said that the name of the tract in the bush where the priest of the god lived was Laulea. This god seems to have been besought if there was a drought, the people bringing coconuts and wreathes (*sisi*) and making kava in front of the god's house. [821] [782]

The god, while in possession of the person of the priest, drank the kava. After the kava drinking the spokesman of the people, usually a matapule, would tell the god that the island had been long without rain and that rain was desired. The god, speaking 776 793 787 821

1: Gifford E-4,5 (1920-1921) 1929 OU9 Tonga OU9



eat everything because his god was in him. To Haveakai, and to other Tongan gods, a huge root of kava was an invariable present, as it is to a great chief. Such a sized root was called *konga kava*.

The priest of the god Kafoiaatu was named Maumui and his home was in the tract Manaiange, in Uiha, where he had a house. He possessed whale ivory, which was kept in a fine mat, and black tapa. The fine mat was placed on the black tapa, and then wrapped in a piece of ordinary tapa, and no one was allowed to go near the place where it was kept.

This deity was also the god of the chief Malupo of Uiha, and he and the people prayed to Kafoiaatu. When they went to offer sacrifice they would wear Tahitian chestnut leaves strung around their necks. They would sit outside the god's house and pray from there. They had also plain tapa (*lou-fetaaki*) wound around their heads. No chief ever offered any sacrifice, but the matapule did.

The bird of the god is the fruit dove *kulukulu* (*Ptilopus porphyraceus*) and the spirit of the god entered the *kulukulu*. If this dove flew and roosted in a tree, noise of any kind would be forbidden nearby. When Kafoiaatu entered Maumui, he shivered and cried and changed and became white like a corpse. If anyone was on the point of death and a person's finger was cut off and given as an offering to Kafoiaatu and that offering was accepted, the person recovered.

## Another Uiha deity was the god Taufamangumoetoto.

His priest was Kakala. His tract was Finetofusi and he had a house on it. The things he left in this house were a shield (*pa*) and a club. The bird of the god was the *kaleva* (*Eudynamis tahitiensis*) and he often entered into this bird. This god hated dogs. The people prayed and sacrificed to him. If there was any sickness, or a person near death, they would then cut off somebody's finger and take it to Taufamangumoetoto and if the sacrifice were accepted, the person would live. If sacrifice were to be made the people wore a string of *hoi* leaves round their necks and then went and offered sacrifice to the god. It was forbidden that they enter the god's house and they would sit outside. This god belonged to Tuita Toluafetupu and his family and was regarded as very sacred (*toputapu aupito*). It was forbidden for anyone to make any noise near, or to enter, the god's premises.

## Another god in Uiha was called Foliaki of Pulotu.

This god belonged to Malupo and his family. His priest was Havea who lived in a house on the island Uiha; but apparently the shrine of the god was on Tatafa Island. He had a basket as the shrine (*fakafaanga*) and container of his sacred objects of whale ivory and shells. He also had a pigeon (*lupe, Globicera pacifica*) which he would let loose. The pigeon would go to Tatafa Island and the people would go to the pigeon. Their gatherings all took place at the Sia Hinefaitehina. If anyone was ill he and his relatives would string the chestnut leaves and wear them around their necks and go to the god and make their sacrifices near his shrine.

This god's food consisted of yams, pork, and other things, and he would drink the young coconuts. He detested the name of Fatafehi and it was never mentioned in Uiha. For the same reason the name Manumataongo Polau Faivaka was never called.

When this god entered Havea, the priest is said to shiver and change, and his face to become red, and his manner utterly different. Kava was not served to Havea in the ordinary kava cup, but in a folded banana leaf. He had scraped coconut for relish (*fono*) and this was folded up in banana leaves. After he had partaken of the kava, he would lift up his relish and eat it all, not leaving a crumb.

All noise, such as whistling and clapping, was forbidden at this god's place.

There were two other Uiha deities whose names and sex the informant did not know. One of these deities had a house on a tract called Pulemoui,

1: Gifford E-4,5 (1920-1921) 1929 OU9 Tonga OU9



appeared. When the priest became inspired he uttered the god's commands. The priest always became inspired at one particular place on Tafahi. There was no temple, however, but only a large rock which was also called Fatuulu. (The gods entered their priests only at certain places.) The ground at this rock was sacred. Any man who stood on it would die. Even a Maatu might not go there. Fatuulu commanded all the fish. The *kaloama* was not especially sacred to him. Fatuulu was the Otua Haa Maatu, that is, the god of the lineage of Maatu.

Maatu knew the place of another god but did not remember his name.

There was a god house. This god supported Maatu (Ikamafana II?) when he conquered Tafahi. Ngongo did some fighting, too. The god's house (43) was like a chief's house, except that it was closed in all around and the entrance was through a hole just under the eaves, reached by climbing a tree. This god entered into Maatu himself; that is, into everyone of the line. The god that entered Maatu was different from those that entered priests. The reason the Niuatoputapuans were not conquered by the Tongatabuans was because this god stayed with them all the time. The difference between this god and Fatuulu was that this god was in Maatu all the time and never left him, while Fatuulu came from the rocks in the ocean to enter Toumaama. Maatu himself as embodying his god was a priest too. In battle, Maatu's god would run ahead of him in human form.

When a person became ill he was carried to Maatu's god's house and laid outside. If the person's sickness did not yield to medicines, a consultation of the family settled who would sacrifice a little finger for the sick person. This was done in the sick person's house, and the blood caught in a banana leaf and two outer finger joints placed in it. These were carried to the god's house. People would sit on the ground outside, cross-legged, hands clasped, heads bowed down. They put the offering on the ground while the priest looked down from the doorway. This is said to apply also to Fatuulu, who had a similar house. The priest would say, "It is well. The god has told me you may take this man back. He is well now. His sin is finished." Then they would all arise with the man that was sick and go home.

If the people went in the morning with sacrifice they might sit at the god's house all day until the god gave an answer. Having to sit there in the sun was something of a sacrifice itself. Each had to have a ragged mat around his waist and wear a necklace of Tahitian chestnut leaves.

A god's house might be in the bush. All was tapu around for a certain distance. People would not go near. No one went inside. In the house of Maatu's god were war implements, large white cowries, and a kava bowl. Shells, other than cowries, were strung spirally around the posts.

Seketoa did not have a priest because the transformation of the young chief to fish form took place so recently. Seketoa had no house. He was always a fish after his suicide. (26, p. 83.)

At times the priest would order a member of some family to be strangled. The reason might be that the person did not believe in the god. "In those days all were practically slaves to the gods." There were many other gods unknown to the informant, but all were afraid of Maatu's god. The pig was sacred to Maatu's god. People might kill and eat pigs only at the god's pleasure.

Offerings were not regularly made by the people. When the god wanted something the priest gave orders that it be brought. No excuse would be given for the demand.

2: Mariner F-5 (1806-1810) 1818
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fanga: they immediately proceeded to his father's grave, (Mr. Mariner being also with them) to perform the ceremony of Toogi. All who went for this purpose put on mats instead of their usual dress, and wreaths made of the leaves of the *ifi* tree round their necks (significant of respect and humility). They sat down cross-legged (the usual way of sitting) before the grave; Finow, as well as the rest, beating their cheeks with their fists for about half a minute, without speaking a word. One of the principal matabooles then addressed the spirit of Finow's father to the following purpose: "Behold the "man (meaning Finow) who has come to "Tonga to fight his enemies: be pleased with "him, and grant him thy protection; he comes "to battle, hoping he is not doing wrong; he "has always held Tooitonga* in the highest "respect, and has attended to all religious cere-"monies with exactness." One of the attendants then went to Finow, and received from him a piece of cava root, which he laid down on the raised mount before the Fytoka (burying-place). Several others, who had pieces of cava root in their bosoms, went up to the grave in like manner and deposited them. The ceremony being thus finished, Finow and his friends

* Tooitonga is a great chief, supposed to be descended from a God.

3: Mariner F-5 (1806-1810) 1818
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down while they passed: for if any one were to forego this ceremony in presence of a superior *Egi*, some calamity from the gods would be expected as a punishment for the omission. Sitting down is with them a mark of respect, as standing up is with us, before a superior; upon the principle perhaps, that in this posture a man cannot so readily attack or assassinate the person in whose presence he is; or it may be that in this posture lowering his height is significant of his rank or merit being humbled in presence of the other.

There are many ceremonies which characterise the high respect and veneration shewn to Tooitonga; but as in this place we are discoursing of rank, not of ceremonies, the full description of the latter must be deferred till we come to speak of religious rites. Here we shall only mention, in a general way, in what these ceremonies chiefly consist.

1. The grand ceremony of *ináchi*, which is performed once a year, (about the month of October,) and consists in offering the first fruits of the year to Tooitonga. It was supposed that if this ceremony were neglected, the vengeance of the gods would fall in a signal manner upon the people.

2. Peculiarity of his marriage ceremony.

3. Peculiarity of his burial ceremony.

3: Mariner F-5 (1806-1810) 1818
OU9 Tonga OU9



mony of *mbë-mbë*, before he will dare feed himself with his own hands. This ceremony consists in touching the soles of any superior chief's feet with the hands, first applying the palm, then the back of each hand; after which the hands must be rinsed in a little water, or, if there be no water near, they may be rubbed with any part of the stem of the plantain or banana tree, the moisture of which will do instead of washing. He may then feed himself without danger of any disease, which would otherwise happen, as they think, from eating with tabooed hands: but if any one think he may have already (unknowingly) eaten with tabooed hands, he then sits down before a chief, and taking the foot of the latter, presses the sole of it against his own abdomen, that the food which is within him may do him no injury, and that consequently he may not swell up and die: this operation is called *fota*, (i. e. to press.) It is tabooed also to eat when a superior relation is present, unless the back is turned towards him: for when a person's back is turned towards another, that other may be said, in one sense, not to be in his presence: also to eat food which a superior relation or chief has touched; and if either of these *taboos* is accidentally infringed upon, the ceremony of *fota* must be performed. If any one is tabooed by touching the person

784 565 788 [264 753] 784 264 565 516 784 649 415 778

4: Gifford E-4,5 (1920-1921) 1923 OU9 Tonga OU9



103 **Lapaha**, village on Tongatabu island (T)—Pangia, landlord. Also island (V). Also tract near Mataika, village on Vavau island (V). Also tract near Holonga, village on Vavau island (V). Also tract on Oloua island (V). Also tract near Sapaata, village on Niuafoou island (NF).

**Faingaa.** To persevere in being awake [fainga, to do with perseverance; a, to be awake]. Stone near Toula, village on Vavau island (V). One of two stones formerly standing at village of Toula. One stone has been destroyed. The two stones were believed to be the incarnation of the deities Sisi and Faingaa.

[776] [823] **Faioaiaio.** Lower Faioa [(see preceding); iaio, below]. Tract near Hihifo, village on Lifuka island (H).

**Faioauta.** Inland Faioa [uta, inland]. Tract near Hihifo, village on Lifuka island (H).

**Faiohomoho.** The eating of supper [fai, performance, execution; ohomoho, supper]. Tract near Pukotala, village on Haano island (H)—Tui Haangana, landlord.

**Faipa.** Tract near Kapa, village on Kapa island (V).

**Faitavale.** To work without order [fai, to work; tavale, without order]. Tract near Tongamamao, village on Niuafoou island (NF).

[516] **Faite.** The ancient sitting posture of Tongan women, which consisted of sitting with both legs partially under the body and flexed at the knees to either the right or the left. Beach and tract near Talafoou, village on Tongatabu island (T)—Lauaki, landlord. The beach at Talafoou (new tidings) is called Faite because here a woman sat in faite fashion when conveying news of the murder of the Tui Tonga Takalaua to his children. I have one record of the place name as Talafaite instead of Faite. The stem tala means "to tell"; hence the full meaning would be "to tell while sitting in faite fashion."

[173] **Faitoakalali.** To scrape the bark of the casuarina tree and use it with water to dye the hair a reddish color [fai, to do; toa, casuarina tree; kalali, to scratch]. Tract near Ahau, village on Tongatabu island (T)—Lasike, landlord.

**Faitokalahi.** Large burying ground [faitoka, burying ground; lahi, large]. Tract near Hihifo, village on Lifuka island (H). Also tract near Lotofoa, village on Foa island (H).

**Faitokolahi.** The performance or work of a multitude of people [fai, performance; tokolahi, multitude]. Tract near Niutoua, village on Tongatabu island (T).

**Faituunga.** To make a foundation [fai, to do, to perform, to execute; tuunga, a foundation]. Tract near Haalaufuli, village on Vavau island (V)—Afu Haalaufuli, landlord. Also tract near Holonga, village on Vavau island (V).

**Faiulu.** Ten stingrays [fai, stingray; ulu, ten]. Tract near Tefisi, village on Vavau island (V)—Luani, landlord.

**Faivavale.** Slimy stingray [fai, stingray; vavale, slimy] Tract near Pangai, village on Lifuka island (H).

**Fakaaala.** Anything which looks best at a distance. Tract near Haalalo, village on Tongatabu island (T).

**Fakaahotaha.** To do a thing on one certain day [fakaaho, to do on certain days; taha, one]. Tract near Vaipoa, village on Niuatoputapu island (NT)—Maatu, landlord.

103 173 **Fakaahuahu.** To cause a great smoke, as a signal. Tract between Kolomaile and Tufuvai, villages on Eua island (T). On this tract is situate the mound Ponahiva and near it is the present race course. Perhaps the name refers to the great fire built upon the death of the Tui Tonga Tuitatui in Eua. The Tui Tonga's half brother Fasiapule, returning to Tongatabu island from Fiji, saw the fire and realizing that it must herald an event of importance, proceeded forthwith to Eua, where he learned of his brother's death.

8: Collocott & Havea M, I-5 (no date) 1922
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**413. Faala fakatau ki he muiulu:** Looking (for lice) at the back of the head. 539 183

The back of the head is the favorite camping-ground of lice, and though the huntress may pick up a few strays in other localities it is at the back of the head that she is likely to make her largest bag. So used of looking for anything where it is most likely to be found. 515

**414. Tata a tua nima:** Nearness of back of the hand. 539

The back of the hand is very close to the palm, but when anything is grasped it is the palm only that touches it. Used of one who gets nothing when a close relative is distributing favors. In spite of his closeness he touches nothing. 671 602 826

**415. Teeki pea toki fakataane:** Break wind and then sit properly. 539

The uncouth first word is often exchanged for *angavale*, behave vulgarly. The phrase indicates one who squats down on his heels, or otherwise sits carelessly in company, and whose unguarded behavior is the cause of an embarrassing accident. Afterwards he sits as he should (*fakataane* is the sitting posture of the men) but then it is too late to repair the slip. Generally refers to one who after an accident takes the precautions that he should have taken before. Shutting the stable door after the horse has got out. 827 676 516

**416. Tufotufa ulu-nima:** Distributing (with) fingers. 539

Giving away grudgingly; not grasping heartily and offering with good will, but taking hesitatingly and unwillingly presenting something with the ends of the fingers. (Compare No. 111.) 431 183

## HOME AND COMPOUND

**417. Ana jiko-makii:** Cave sullied with excrement. 539

Used of a place of human habitation or resort originally small and inconvenient and rendered still more so by the careless filthiness of those who use it. In connection with this it is asserted that caves were the earliest dwellings of the people. (See No. 425.) 356 [342]

**418. Hifo i toumua:** Going down to (one's own) frontage, that is, one leaving his house and going down to the road straight in front of his place. 539 351 461

The frontage is in line with his own property, and so the phrase comes to be used of one putting his hand to a task that is in line with his powers, undertaking that which he is well able to perform.

**419. Hikihiki kaua:** Shifting fence or boundary. 539

"Cursed be he that removeth his neighbour's land-mark." Boundaries are tabu and must not be tampered with. For the strong to shift the boundary of the weak would be a mark of tyrannous effrontery. The expression is a reproach to those who change what should be inviolably fixed. 423 571 829

8: Collocott & Havea M,I-5 (no date) 1922
OU9 Tonga OU9



539 516 526 423 571 **420. Teketeke tuakoi:** Pushing one, sitting with his back to mine.

This was sometimes done in sport, two people sitting back to back and pushing against each other. Frequently others would join in helping one or the other side. A proverbial use of this expression does not seem to be known today, but Baker gives: "To push away or remove the landmark of another to increase his own," which evidently pictures two contiguous compounds as sitting back to back.

539 352 484 **421. Hiki moe faliki:** Moving with the floor.

The floor of a Tongan house is formed of dry coconut leaves strewed on the ground and covered with mats. A man in shifting quarters will not usually takes these flooring leaves with him, but this expression indicates a migration so complete that it leaves the ground bare; house, floor, and everything being on the march.

539 829 571 **422. Kama e mea ae api kehe:** Attending to the thing in another's home.

This is much like No. 423, used of one who neglects his own business and attends to that of other people. (See No. 346.)

**423. Kama noa he mea ae api kehe:** To exert oneself for nought in the affairs of another compound.

To use one's energy in labors from which he will get no return; the fruit of his labors will go to those who own the compound.

539 312 **424. Lepa tali ki langi:** Cistern dependent on the sky; a cistern which is filled only by the rain.

[177] [178] The whole matter of water supply and conservation has been modified, of course, by the introduction of European roofing-iron and tanks. Of the cisterns dug formerly by the people some were filled by carrying water from springs; others were filled only by rain. As notable examples of rain-filled cisterns mention is made of natural holes in the rocks near the sea on the [821] islands of Fotuhaa in Haapai, and Niua Foou. We cannot say whether any such expression as this was used in pre-Christian days to express the dependence of man on the gods, but it is used now of the reliance of man on heaven.

539 261 515 **425. Takamilo jiko i tua peito:** Going round defecating outside cook-house.

One should not bring any defilement near the place where his food is prepared, nor should he in any way dishonor his own home. The expression is much like the English proverb about a bird fouling its own nest. (See No. 417.)

539 372 261 **426. Tu mo hokohoka:** Lighting and dabbing, that is, lighting a fire and then dabbing the end of the lighted sticks on the ground to extinguish them; frequently lighting a fire and letting it go out.

Applied to frequently preparing food during the course of one day.

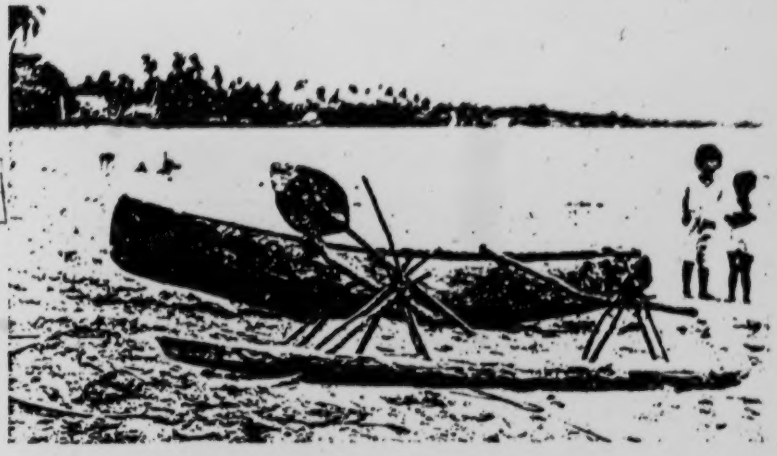
10: Hornell E,N-4,5 (1925) 1936 OU9 Tonga OU9



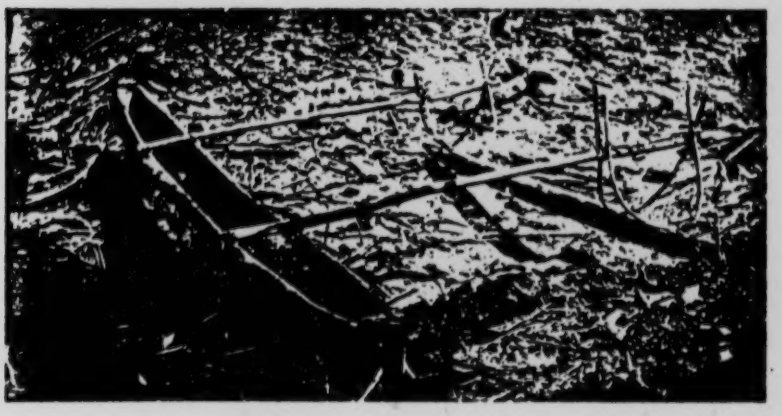
## OUTRIGGER CANOES

### BOBAO

501 The *bobao* of today, a small paddling canoe, has a dugout hull, the bottom round, the sides tumble-home, and commonly so roughly hewn out as to be little more shapely and adapted to be a canoe than one of the village slit drums were it [101] to have the ends pointed. As observed during my visit to the islands in 1925, the hulls range in size from 10 to 15 feet in length, with an outside beam at the gunwale of 8 to 9 inches, increasing at the bilge to 12 to 16 inches; the depth ranges



*a*



*b*

FIGURE 180.—Modern Tongan dugout outrigger canoes (*bobao*): *a*, from Haapai, connectives are paired sticks, the forward set reinforced by an unpaired one; *b*, from Vavao, two double U connectives to each boom (photographed in 1925).

12: Vason M-3 (1797-1801) 1810
009 Tonga 009



washed, is laid out to dry, and becomes very white and clean. With this, they strain the liquor from the masticated Kava root. When they have repeated the straining three or four times, and perfectly cleansed it, the person who sits by the bowl calls out "Tooma Kava," the "Kava is clean." During this time the company, who are sitting in silence, are not idle: they form dishes in a curious and skilful manner of plantain leaves. As soon as the Kava is ready, appointed persons rise from the circle with their plantain dishes, and approach the bowl. The man who mixed it then takes up a large strainer full, and another holds his dish underneath, over the great bowl, till it is filled. The former then calls out, "Kava go aga." "Whose is this Kava?" The tackhanger replies, "Havee ge Dabou." "Take it to Dabou," or to any other person whose name was mentioned. In this way, the name of every one of the company is repeated, before he is served. The person whose name is pronounced, then claps his hands, and the waiter, by this signal informed which it is, takes the Kava to him. The persons serving it out to the company, conduct themselves in the most becoming and orderly manner, arranging their apparel with the greatest neatness, walking with grace, and presenting it with ceremonious politeness. If a man were to conduct himself with the least disorder or disrespect, the chief would order him to be struck down. When they present

12: Vason M-3 (1797-1801) 1810
OU9 Tonga OU9



the Kava to Duatonga, or any of his family, all of whom are considered sacred, they must sit down cross-legged, before they deliver it out of their hands.

During the preparation of the Kava, the Tomaagee, or principal servants of the chief, are busily employed in an out house built for the purpose, in baking yams. These, as soon as ready, they bring in baskets, made of entwined leaves, and lay them before the chief and the circle of guests as far as they go. They eat these yams after drinking the Kava; and during their meal talk with each other, as they please, on different subjects.

Whenever the lower orders can procure the Kava, they always drink it in companies in this festive manner; in which they often spend the two or three first hours of the morning. They have this pleasure, however, but seldom, as the chiefs generally exact it of them, to drink it with their brother chiefs and their attendants. They exercise an arbitrary power over the lower orders, and have every thing belonging to them in their power, which their sub-officers take from them, without ceremony, as the chief may need. Though the provision they have by them be ever so scanty, they are required to cook a part of it for the chief; so that they are frequently obliged to eat the root of the plantain-tree, for a wretched subsistance, or to resort to the chief, and beg some food. The chief will send his attendants

12: Vason M-3 (1797-1801) 1810
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Duatonga, as the priest of all the islands, and their mediator to converse with the Deity, and insure them plenty, was greatly reverenced throughout the island, and supported in splendour and dignity by the contributions of the different districts, as well as by the productions of his own ample estate. So that like the ancient priests of Egypt, he was a prince as well as priest: and he received greater homage than even the principal chief, or Dugonagaboola himself. If he was journeying, no native dared to walk or stand while he remained in sight; every one—man, woman, or child, instantly uncovered to the stomach and sat down, and crossed his hands and legs, and remained in this posture till he had passed by.

The period of the annual oblation being arrived, all the chiefs from the Arbai Navou[1] and all the other neighbouring isles, as well as the chiefs of Tonga, assembled together at noon in the fallee or mansion of Duatonga, to present him with their first ripe yams and other first fruits of their fields; a custom, which, however remote the island, seems derived from original tradition, as it resembled the offerings of Abel and Noah, and the other Patriarchs, and which were perpetuated in the Mosaic dispensation. On this occasion, Duatonga personated the Deity of their fields, who they supposed caused them to be fruitful. They paid him the homage due to him whom he represented. With the fruits

1 [Errata: this should read Vavou. Cf. errata sheet, cat. 116, p. 235--Analyst]

13: Beaglehole & Beaglehole E-5 (1938-1939) 1941
OU9 Tonga OU9
Vavau
Pangai



right does the pounding. The boy on the left adds the water as required and later calls out the names of the drinkers that the cups of *kava* may be passed to them in turn.

The *kava*-maker sits quietly behind her bowl when she is not making or filling cups. She keeps her hands folded. She is not supposed to touch her head or face or to talk throughout the evening. A menstruating girl neither makes nor drinks *kava* because of a *tapu* on cold water at this time. A woman who has given birth to a child, similarly does not make *kava* for at least a month after the delivery.

The drinkers sit in a semi-circle facing the *kava*-bowl if the arrangement of the house allows this pattern. Otherwise they sit round three walls of the house, their backs against the walls, with the *kava*-maker at the fourth wall. Generally the young man at the left of the maker calls the name of the drinker. He holds a half coconut-cup over the bowl. The maker lifts the strainer and the *kava* runs into the cup. The drinker named claps his hands together twice and the cup is passed hand to hand until it reaches the drinker. The drinker may indicate that the cup is not full enough for his liking. In this case, the cup is passed back and more *kava* is added. The drinker is supposed to swallow his cupful at one breath. He passes the empty cup back along the circle of hands to be refilled for another or else spins the cup along the floor in such fashion that it comes to rest against the *kava*-bowl. Two coconut-cups are sufficient for any but the largest gathering. The drinkers wait patiently for their names to be called. If the *kava* is finished before all the names of those present are called, those uncalled are without luck. The bowl is placed aside to wait until another bowlful is made. This may be any time up to half an hour later. Meanwhile the flow of discussion is resumed until one of the older men present indicates by a nod or muttered word that it is time to make more *kava*. The wrung-out *kava* from the last bowl is used again unless it is obvious that all the strength has been washed out. Then new *kava*-root is substituted entirely or else added to the old crushed root.

There is little attempt to preserve any patterned formality in an ordinary drinking-party. An older man indicates that one of the youth should call the names for the drinking unless he asks one of the adults to do so. Names

14: Thomson G-3 (1886-1891) 1894
OU9 Tonga OU9



charged with that offence before the police court; but Kubu, the new Minister of Police, who was then Police

*George Tukuaho.*

Magistrate, was not a creature of Mr Baker, and dismissed the case. This would not do at all, and Mr Baker

14: Thomson G-3 (1886-1891) 1894
OU9 Tonga OU9



781 calm he told us what a sinner he had been, and at each
783 disgraceful confession the audience shouted their applause. Then with bated breath he told of his awakening; with suppressed emotion he described his inward tumult: words failed him; he caught his breath, he flung up his arms passionately, and after a silent struggle his voice rent the air in a hideous yell, "The Lord has got my soul!" He raved; he tore open his shirt as if he would pluck the heart out of him; and then, still raving, he flung himself on the ground in a frenzy of simulated sobs, and another took up the tale. It was a disgusting exhibition, but it was the success of the evening.

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*"The Lord has got my soul!"*

The performance of the next penitent—a grey-haired and respectable man—was original, but it had been eclipsed. He said nothing: he simply stood and was shaken by sobs, while real tears ran through his fingers. After some minutes of this repentance in dumb-show he made a gesture of despair, and sat down amid loud acclamations.

14: Thomson G-3 (1886-1891) 1894
OU9 Tonga OU9



There were some tame imitations of the three principal performers: then Tukuaho rose, and a hush fell upon the excited crowd. Religion was to give place to politics. He told them that he had come to the church that evening to find comfort for his wounded spirit. He had landed on their shore with joy, thinking that he had come among old friends, but his joy had been turned into sorrow. They were his friends no longer — why? He knew not, unless it was because a distasteful office had been forced upon him. Did they think that he had sought office? No! he was Premier by Tubou's command, not by his own choice. Out of his love for his king he had undertaken work for which he was unfitted, and with God's help he would carry it through. Many foolish things had been said (was not Tonga the land of lying reports?). It had even been asserted that the independence of their country would be lost. Lost? Well, he could tell them that there was one man who would fight if the independence of the country was endangered. That man was himself. But was there a man present who would not fight? (Hitherto

*"He tore open his shirt."*

14: Thomson G-3 (1886-1891) 1894
OU9 Tonga OU9



motion to feel the pulse of the people after their dose of tonic.

Besides a pleasurable excitement the *bolotu* supplies the place of the confessional, though, owing to its publicity, the sins confessed are generally the more venial slips of omission rather than of commission. But not always. Tradition has it that the unregenerate Mary Butako, when

*"When Mary 'told her soul.'"*

past her first youth, showed leanings towards repentance, and there was dire consternation among the men of Sawana. They took heart, however, when it was found that though she attended every *bolotu*, yet she never was moved to "tell her soul." A night came at last when the enthusiasm passed the bounds. The acclamations were mingled with the sobs of the penitents overwhelmed with a sense of their sin, and in the midst Mary was seen

14: Thomson G-3 (1886-1891) 1894
OU9 Tonga OU9



selves. The two Cabinet Ministers, Kubu, the Minister of Police, and Josateki Tonga Veikune, the Paymaster, 645

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*Asibeli Kubu, Minister of Police.*

now appointed Auditor-General in his absence, had returned from their mission to Vavau and the Niuas to

14: Thomson G-3 (1886-1891) 1894
OU9 Tonga OU9



ferent stamp of man. A chief of the third rank in Vavau, he was selected by Mr Baker as his Paymaster and Assistant Premier because of his implicit obedience to orders and his power of silence. In person he is erect and slim, with grizzled hair and beard, and fine features deeply wrinkled. He lives only for his work: he is an official first and a man afterwards, a very rare quality for a native, to whom, as a rule, sustained purpose is unknown. We are not yet sure of Sateki. He is said to be hurt at my appointment as Assistant Premier, a post which, till now, he has nominally filled. If we once win him over we need not fear that he will desert us, but as he will not talk, and has never been known to laugh, he is difficult to conciliate.

*The Lord Chief-Justice.*

Then there was Ahomëe (day of dancing), the Lord Chief-Justice, a white-haired old gentleman, one of the first converts, and a great pillar of the Church in days gone by, but now very deaf of ear and dull of understanding. The Minister of Finance, Junia Mafileo, the king's nephew, had not yet arrived, and Tukuaho, as President,

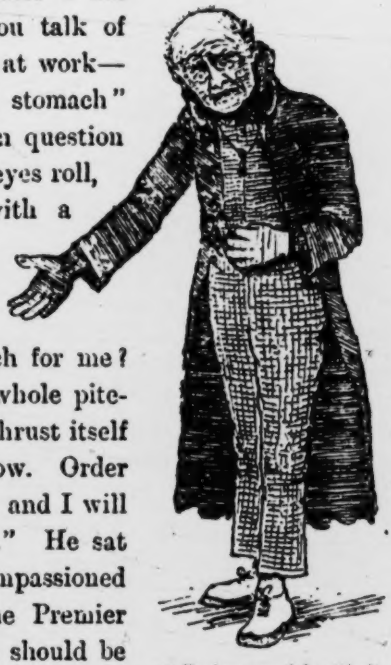
14: Thomson G-3 (1886-1891) 1894
OU9 Tonga OU9



"You are to attend your office every day," says Tungi, with emphasis.

Goschen springs to his feet in a state of frenzied emotion.

"I know," he cries, "I have not been to my office for a week. And why? Because I am alone in the world. You talk of work; well, I have been at work—my work is to fill my stomach" (he clutches the organ in question with both hands). His eyes roll, his false teeth shut with a snap, and he hisses over them, "I have no wife, no sons, no daughters. Who is to fill my stomach for me? Why," he cried, as the whole piteousness of the situation thrust itself upon him, "it's empty now. Order me to do what you will and I will do it, but only feed me." He sat down choked with his impassioned burst of eloquence. The Premier suggested that a convict should be told off to catch fish for the Minister, and dig his yams. This was a straw to the drowning financier. "Yes," he cried, "give me a prisoner, two prisoners, or even three to feed me, but I think that it will want four: feed me, and I will sit in my office all day." It was eventually decided that Goschen should attend his office on alternate days, and



*"Feed me, and I will sit in my office all day."*

14: Thomson G-3 (1886-1891) 1894
OU9 Tonga OU9



he had given to the revenue collectors. The accused was calm, collected, and perfectly respectful. He had with him his books for the last three years, and he proceeded to read them, pausing at intervals to take breath and to

*"He had with him his books for the last three years."*

explain that, but for Mr Baker of execrable memory, the matter would be clear to a person of even Campbell's limited comprehension. Although his harangue had as much to do with the point at issue as it had with the

14: Thomson G-3 (1886-1891) 1894
OU9 Tonga OU9



should make them hold their hand until he neglected my warning, and offended again.

One of our first acts on landing had been to pay our official visit to the Governor, who had disobeyed and defied us. One always forms a clear mental picture of a person whose acts and utterances are familiar, and the picture is generally ill-drawn. I had imagined this truculent Free Churchman as a self-sufficient middle-aged

*"Manase took it all in silence."*

Tongan of the blatant kind: I found him a mild-mannered old gentleman, endowed with an apostolic saintliness of feature and expression that must have disarmed my colleagues had they not known their man so well. Manase was a chief of the third rank in Vavau, who owed his elevation to his zeal in persecuting the Wesleyans and his willingness to second Mr Baker in questionable transactions. Hitherto I had supposed him to have some

14: Thomson G-3 (1886-1891) 1894
OU9 Tonga OU9



645 646 466 resses had to be selected for the dining-table of the House. Kubu invited me to form one of the committee charged with the delicate duty of selecting a band of twenty from among the competitors. We took our seats at the long table in the hall, and sternly ordered the candidates to be brought before us. A clerk with the instruments of his trade sat beside us, to give an air of formality to the proceedings. "Two things are necessary," I heard it whispered; "they must be comely, and they must be

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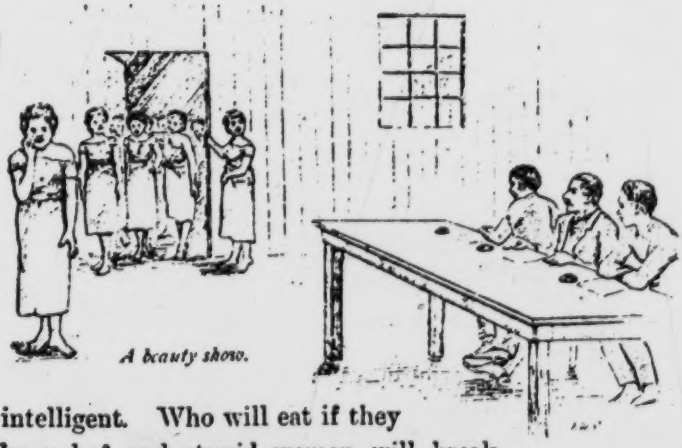


*A beauty show.*

intelligent. Who will eat if they be ugly? and stupid women will break the plates." Then from the door that led kitchenwards twenty damsels sidled in and sat down on the long [516] form facing us. Some sucked their fingers in bashfulness; a few looked shyly defiant; the majority giggled. None of them looked as if they would break plates, but several fell short, very far short, of the first requirement. [574] One damsel in particular had been so harshly treated by Nature that I whispered my doubts to my

14: Thomson G-3 (1886-1891) 1894
OU9 Tonga OU9



Speech had been copied out and submitted to the king; for several days we heard no more of it. Half afraid that our opponents would contrive to see it and endeavour to have it altered, at the last moment I insisted upon Tukuaho asking for it back. After some delay it was produced—in another handwriting as I expected. The passage about Mr Baker had been so altered as to convey an untrue and improper meaning. The handwriting was Sateki's, but he seems to have been merely the amanuensis. Rather than that it should stand in its present form, I took the Speech to the king. He was evidently expecting a remonstrance,

*"The faint tap of the gatu mallets."*

and showed in his tone that he was on the defensive. "But why allude to the past?" I asked.

"Was it I who did so?" he said. Then apparently satisfied with having his advantage, he laughed, and readily allowed me to expunge the whole passage.

The great day dawned cloudless and drowsy. The hum of the fleecy breakers on the distant reef, the faint tap of the *gatu* mallets, vaguely suggested a reverie in a hammock and the unsubstantial folds of the *vala;* but native garments were to-day forbidden, for Parliaments in civilised

14: Thomson G-3 (1886-1891) 1894
OU9 Tonga OU9



form the *moëmoë*[1] by embracing her feet when they left her.

These higher dignities, however, were a superstructure built of the high estimation in which women were held upon the fundamental idea of the divine affinity of the Tui Tonga. The key to this belief is to be found in the epic of Kau-ulu-fonua, from whose reign Tongan history may be said to date.[2] The following is an unworthy prose version of the story:—

In days of old the Tui Tonga was lord of all Tonga—lord of the soil and of the men, and of the first-fruits; and to no other chief was tribute paid but to the Tui Tonga only. He received tribute from Haapai, from Haafulu hao,[3] from Niuafo'ou,[4] from Niua-tobutabu,[5] from

[1] A salute paid to the highest chief present. The person performing it sits cross-legged before him, and bows the head until the forehead touches the sole of the chief's foot, and then brushes the foot first with the palm and then with the back of each hand. After touching a chief's person the *moëmoë* must be performed on pain of the liver swelling up and causing death. As they are subject to scrofulous diseases, which they attribute to an unwitting breach of the *tabu*, they used to perform the *moëmoë* frequently from motives of caution, without reference to any special *tabu* they had broken.

[2] *Circa* 1535. There are fragmentary traditions of an earlier time when the Tongans were in a lower social state, and cannibalism was practised. A colony from Tonga founded a powerful clan in Mangaia (Cook Islands) before the end of the fifteenth century, and it is probable that Pylstaart was peopled from Tonga before the sixteenth century; but the names of the kings before Kau-ulu-fonua are unreliable (*vide* Appendix I.), and the traditions are too disconnected to be classed in their proper sequence. The old men who stored up these traditions have passed away, and it cannot now be hoped that the records of the dim past will ever be rescued from oblivion.

[3] Vava'u. [4] Boscawen Island. [5] Keppel's Island.

14: Thomson G-3 (1886-1891) 1894
OU9 Tonga OU9



and were repulsed with heavy loss. Thus one fact was learned—the strangers could not be openly assailed with safety; and the fame of Schouten's prowess, recorded in a rough poem, may have served to protect his great countryman Tasman.

On January 27, 1643, Abel Tasman anchored off Hihifo

*Schouten and Lemaire buying provisions in Futuna*, 1616, *showing ancient mode of wearing the hair.* *Vide* Appendix II. A
(Reduced from a rare Dutch plate in the possession of Dr Corney.)

in Tongatabu. The natives crowded on board his ships to barter provisions for iron, but beyond pilfering when unobserved, they did not annoy their visitors. A chief, probably the Tui Tonga, Tabuoji, entertained them very hospitably, and invited them on shore. They found that the country was cultivated like a garden. It was divided by neat reed fences into plantations, within which stood

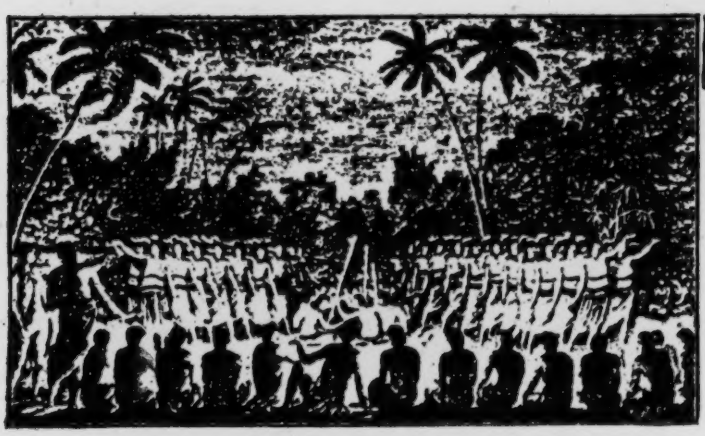
A /See pp. 402-403 for explanation of picture--
^ Analyst/

14: Thomson G-3 (1886-1891) 1894
OU9 Tonga OU9



mander, it is probable that the severity of the punishments has been exaggerated. 175 177 609

The chiefs owed their visitors no gratitude. Every present they had received, every condescension shown to them, had been repaid by liberal gifts of provisions. The ships were filled with treasures as precious in their eyes as gold would have been in the eyes of their visitors, and in a few days they would sail away never to return. Why,



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*A* bo-mĕe *or night-dance at Haapai, June 1777.* (From a steel engraving in the British Museum.)

they thought, should they not prevent this? For the details of the conspiracy they had recourse to Finau, who had seen more of the white men than any of the others. Preparations had already been made for the assemblage of a vast concourse for the performance of dances in honour of the visitors: what would be easier than to fall upon the white men during a night dance by torchlight, conceal the bodies, and, when a party came from the ships to look for

14: Thomson G-3 (1886-1891) 1894
OU9 Tonga OU9



knives, beads, and nails. We sent four of our men to be hostages on shore, and kept some of the people in the ship. These people were very active, swam and dived with great skill, like those we met with at the other islands. There were round huts along the beach, thatched, about 25 feet in circumference, and 12 feet in height, with a doorway. . . .

[The Journal contains the earliest published description of the drinking of kava, which coincides with the present ceremony. Peace was established, visits of ceremony paid, and cordial relations maintained. These islands lie in 14° 56′, and were named Hoorense Eylanden = Hoorn Island or Futuna.]

### Summary as to the Plates reproduced in the Text.

Plate on p. 312 shows the meeting with a native canoe at sea, off the islands they called Cocos (Niua-tobutabu), which lay just out of sight to their S.W.

Plate on p. 310 shows the islands in question, which they sighted the morning after meeting with the canoe, but failed to reach until the following day—*i.e.*, Cocos and Verraders Islands: lat. 16° 10′. Here the ship's company had a collision with the natives. The chief's name was *Latou*.

Plate on p. 311. This is a plate which represents several subjects described in the text all in one picture. The two chiefs are shown twice over, and the large figures on the left are introduced to illustrate the descriptions of various forms of headdress. The trumpeters from the ship are blowing and the drummer beating, the four or five standing figures on the outside of the shed, to the left of the two chiefs sitting under it, are making kava, and the chiefs themselves conversing, all at once. The round or conical huts to the right are introduced merely as types of dwellings.

14: Thomson G-3 (1886-1891) 1894
OU9 Tonga OU9



*Explanation of Plate on p.* 311.

A. Meeting of the two chiefs, welcoming one another with remarkable ceremony.

B. The same two chiefs sitting in state together on two mats under a thatched shed.

C. Our trumpeters and drummer playing before the chiefs, from which they derived great satisfaction (or took as a great compliment).

D. Commoners chewing a green root called by them kava. When it is chewed up water is added to it, and thus a drink is made from it, which is greatly esteemed by them.

E. Shows the fashion of the houses. They are round and pointed, and covered with thatch.

F. Shows the costume of a chief, and coiffure.

G G. Shows the plaits of hair worn by chiefs.

H. Shows an instance of frizzed hair.

I. Another, whose hair stands up stiff like the bristles of a pig, more than a quarter of an ell long.

K. Shows how the women wear their hair cut short.

L. Are cocoa-nut palms.

15: Thomson G-3 (1886-1900) 1902
OU9 Tonga OU9

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643
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GEORGE TUBOU II., KING OF TONGA

To face page 170

[facing p. 170]

16: Collocott M-5 (no date) 1921 OU9 Tonga OU9



From my conversations with the Tongans I am not quite sure where the votaries and the priests sat during consultation of a god, but think that the people would sit round at a respectable distance on the green sward in front of the temple, and the priests would sit either just within or without the doorway. Descriptions seem to point to some such arrangement as this, and it is rendered almost certain by its thorough agreement with universal custom in the paying of a ceremonial visit to an important chief. It is hardly necessary to add that all references to the gods were couched in the most deferential language, terms being employed which were applied to the Tui Tonga and the Tamaha alone amongst mortals, though used now of the constitutional king. Such words are naturally used to-day of the Deity in Christian worship.

Another common mark of defevence in approaching a superior is the wearing of a mat about the waist, girt on with a cinnet-rope belt. This addition to the dress, called a *taovala*, is universally worn at the *fono*, or assemblies where the people are gathered together to hear the will of their chiefs, or of the government, or when approaching a great chief, especially to ask a favour. It is also worn at funerals. Undoubtedly it was worn by the people approaching one of the ancient gods. A mark of still deeper humility is a wreath of the leaves of the *ifi* (*Inocarpus edulis*, Tahitian chestnut) round the neck. This badge of deference was used, for example, by supplicants suing for their lives. To sit with the head bowed, and these leaves round the neck, was the strongest possible expression of humility and entreaty. Whether it were a common adjunct or not of worship I do not know, but it would seem highly probable that it was employed at all events on occasions of great stress. Mariner describes it as being worn on a certain occasion in entering a temple, but in this instance the wearers were pleading for their lives to a great chief.

Naturally the gods varied in power and influence. Some were resorted to by the whole nation; others were the gods of powerful chiefs and their tribes and clans, whilst others enjoyed a more limited prestige, their devotees being the little group of allied households which forms the usual social unit. There was nothing to prevent a man's setting up a tutelary deity of his own if he were so disposed. The number of the gods, moreover, was liable to constant augumentation by the deification of the illustrious or well-beloved dead. A notable instance is Fakailoatonga, a chief related to Finau, of Vavau. In his life-time Fakailoatonga was a famous warrior, and subdued, or at least over-ran, a large part of Tongatabu, "but he was a leper." For long he was ignorant of the nature of his malady, and his friends sedulously refrained from reference to it. But one day a companion told him the ghastly truth, and Fakailoatonga, in his disgust, buried himself alive. After his death he was elevated to the goddage. In the

22: West M-3 (1846-1855) 1865 OU9 Tonga OU9



ing merrily, and shouts of triumph rent the air, to the great dismay of the enemy in Bea, who had received intelligence of the fall of Houma. The loyal troops were drawn up in two long lines, extending from the spot where the king and his chief men were seated, to the road by which the Houman chiefs were expected to approach.

At mid-day, Vaca and Fohe, accompanied by several younger chiefs, approached the king. They were clothed in old mats and tattered garments, with the usual garlands of *ifi* leaves round their necks, expressive of deep humiliation, and of expected punishment. They walked slowly along between the lines of armed men, in charge of a guard; but, when within a short distance of the king, they seemed overpowered by their fears, and placed themselves in the most submissive attitude, with hands clasped before them, and heads bent down toward the ground. Notwithstanding the promise of safety which they had received, they appeared to expect that the signal for death might be given at any moment. In the midst, however, of profound silence, the king's herald proclaimed that it was his pleasure that the prisoners should put off the *ifi* leaves from their necks, that being the signal that they had obtained mercy. *Kava* was then prepared, and the rebel chiefs were commanded to assume their accustomed place of rank in the circle of chiefs. This was an additional and most unexpected evidence of the king's clemency. That their lives should have been spared was a great boon; but that their rank should be continued was more than they could have expected, or could have felt that they deserved.

After the ceremony was over, the king ordered

24: Rugby-Pratt M-3 (1922) 1922 OU9 Tonga OU9
Vavau



*sialemohemohe* seeds, and also a few fans. The second was a *kaituun* or food presentation. Included in this latter were six great green *kava* roots, nine roast pigs borne on *pola* or litters, scores of baskets of fruit and vegetables, bunches of the prized *taokare* or chiefly coconuts, many fowls, and a quantity of *ai* nuts, not unlike almonds, that were both in baskets and threaded on the stripped ribs of fronds of the coconut palm. The gifts in the second presentation were arranged in orderly rows on the *malae*. These were duly counted by representatives of the villages, who seated themselves behind the company and announced the number of each sort of gift. The food was then removed from the *malae*, or assembly ground, saving that five roast pigs were placed in order in front of the *lotoa*. Behind these pigs a party of natives seated themselves, with crossed legs, beneath the shade of an *orava* tree, the sacred tree of Tonga. The chiefs and some distinguished folks were ranged at the feet of Mr. Watkin and myself on the *lotoa*, we two alone being accommodated with chairs.

In the centre of the group, on the *malae*, a woven mat was placed over a plaited coconut *pola*. On either side of the mat sat two men, called *hagai kava*, facing the *lotoa*. Beside each was a large, smooth volcanic stone, and in the right hand of each a smaller volcanic stone. These stones, valuable for their hardness, are brought from the island of Tofua. A green *kava* root was produced, the upper shoots, resembling bamboo sticks, were discarded, and the root itself was scraped and rubbed clean, and then passed to the *hagai kava*. Ordinarily the dried and not the green *kava* root is used for making the beverage. Next a native advanced bearing a *kumete kava* or *kava* bowl, set on four short legs. Before being put in position between the *hagai kava*, it was turned to the guests of honour, with the legs and bottom facing us. The *hagai kava* quickly pounded the root with the hard volcanic stones, the crushed pieces falling upon the mat. When the crushing was complete the broken fragments were put in the *kumete kava*, behind which a handsome woman, the *gaahi kava*, or *kava* maker, now seated herself. In more ancient days the practice was for the crushed root to be distributed amongst the young folks who possessed the whitest teeth, and who, when they had masticated the chips, discharged the contents of their mouths on to a plantain leaf, whence it was transferred to the *kava* bowl. This unhygienic method is now discarded.

The *gaahi kava* with graceful sweeps and curves of arms and hands and body, all movements of symbolic import, began to mix the root and to extract its essence, the while the two *hagai kava* simultaneously poured water slowly from two buckets into the bowl. When she had made the liquor of sufficient strength, a strainer, which was simply a bunch of fibre or *fau*, was brought and spread by the *gaahi kava* on top

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The speakers do not stand to deliver these speeches, but slide forward in two jerks, returning to their places by two backward slides when they have finished.

The mats and cloth where the king sits are given to Ata when the ceremony is finished; the king's clothing, *vala*, to Motu'apuaka and Lauaki. Whilst the *kava* is being prepared Motu'apuaka and Lauaki dispute about who is to distribute it. Originally, it seems, there was a contention in real earnest, which was finally brought to the test of who (or whose son) had slain most men in a battle. In this Lauaki won the pre-eminence, but later gave the honour up to Motu'apuaka, who still holds it. The traditional dispute, however, is part of the ceremony. When the water was ordered at the Queen's installation to mix the *kava*, a number of people jumped up and ran to fetch it. The water was brought from a tank, or other supply, at a little distance; and presently there was a crowd of runners, going and coming, between the water supply and the *kava*-bowl. None brought much at a time. Anyone who had a large container contrived to spill a considerable amount of the water he was carrying before he reached the bowl. In the midst of this bustle there was a certain amount of good-humoured splashing of those engaged in the task.

The explanation given of this custom is that it is to show how large a number of people are eager to fly in the service of the king. All sorts of receptacles are used now-a-days, including buckets, but it is said that formerly only small vessels, such as hollow bamboos, were used. The hibiscus fibre with which the *kava* is strained is supplied in seven portions, a portion each by the Ha'a Ma'afu, the Ha'a Ngata, the Ha'a Havea, the Ha'a Ngata tupu, the Ha'a Ata (Tongatea of Ha'akame), the Ha'a Vaea (Luani of Vava'u), and the Ha'a Maofanga (in Hihifo; Latukefu has charge of this portion).

As the Queen moved onto the *mala'e* for her installation she was preceded by a man who ran ahead, brandishing a spear, crouching and looking round. His face was blackened, and he had the appearance of a scout or guard; but in his performance was a strong element of burlesque. The most extraordinary part of his behaviour was during the actual *kava* ceremony. He was free of all *tapu*, and his conduct, in other circumstances, would have been shockingly offensive. He smoked, lounged, and walked close

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The cups are called differently. The *matapule* in the Tu'i Tonga ring says, *Koe kava ia 'a me'a*, It is the *kava* of so-and-so. The cup-bearer informs the *matapule* that the cup has been filled, not a man sitting by the bowl as in the Tu'i Kanokupolu's ring.

In the Tu'i Kanokupolu ritual the cup-bearer stoops as the cup is filled, and as he presents it to the one who is called; but in the Tu'i Tonga ritual the cup-bearer sits, both as the cup is being filled, and as he presents it to the drinker.

In the Tu'i Kanokupolu *kava*-ring the *matapule* sit with their feet covered, hands clasped before them, resting in their laps, and formerly with index fingers together and extended. In the Tu'i Tonga's *kava* party the *matapule* need not cover their feet, and may dispose of their hands as they please.

Cup-bearers in the Tu'i Kanokupolu *kava*-ring may cross the ring, going or coming with full or empty cups; but in the Tu'i Tonga's ring it was not permitted to cross the ring. It is said that a space was left between the *alofi* and *toua* for the cup-bearers to pass, but it is not clear whether this implies that they had to go and come outside the ring, or whether they could skirt round just inside it. In any case it is implied that the Tu'i Tonga's *alofi* was *tapu* in a way in which the Tu'i Kanokupolu's is not. The *fono* is taken and eaten by certain *fahu* as in the case of the Tu'i Kanokupolu ceremony. An informant mentions the Family of Ma'afu, *Fanau 'a Ma'afu*, whom he calls Rotumans, and the Kau Fale-fa, the *matapules* of the Tu'i Tonga, of Fijian descent, as being able to eat remains of the Tu'i Tonga's food. This, of course, does not imply that they are the people who may eat his *fono*. It is not likely that any living Tongan could reconstruct in its entirety the Tu'i Tonga's *kava*-ring, giving the position of all the chiefs, or even of the principal ones; but the late chief Tamale said that his own position was in the *fasi tapu*. He added that the chief Tafolo was once of equal rank with the Tu'i Ha'a-takalaua. In counting the baskets of food presented, in the Tu'i Tonga ceremonial the first basket only is touched, and the remainder merely pointed at. In comment on this it was said that the first basket is for the Tu'i Tonga himself, and he alone is chief. In counting the baskets at a

30: Collocott M-5 (no date) 1962 OU9 Tonga OU9



zeal of the queen's followers. The strainers (bunches of wild hibiscus fibre) were provided by special groups whose prerogative it was, and represented certain chiefly families.

During the ceremony three conventional speeches were delivered by three chiefs belonging to the Tui Kanokubolu group, who each before speaking slid forward without rising, with two little jerks, returning in the same manner to his place when his speech was finished. These speeches followed traditionary forms, and were exhortations to the Tui Kanokubolu and the people to do their duty to the Tui Tonga chiefs. The first referred to shell-fishing, the second to the bonito fishing, and the third to the fruits of the soil.

An interesting feature of these ceremonies was a man belonging to a family which is connected with Fiji, who was decked out like a Fijian warrior. He preceded the royal procession to the ground by about a hundred yards or so, crouching and running and looking about like an outpost spying out the enemy. When the queen was seated he violated all tabus and rules of ordinary decency by taking up his station near her, passing freely behind or before her, smoking whilst standing or lounging close beside her, and finally, when the pig's liver which is customarily offered to the chief on such occasions was put before the queen, he broke off a piece on the point of his spear and ate it in her presence.

The sanctity of the great chiefs is well illustrated in an interesting native manuscript which was made available to me by the kindness of the Hon. W. Tungi and Mr. E. W. Gifford. In these notes the special words applied to the highest chiefs, the Tamaha and the Tui Tonga, are called the *tobutabu* insignia, the most sacred insignia. Since the institution of monarchy on the European pattern the Tui Tonga words are applied to the reigning sovereign.

### FISHING

Industries have their own tabus. I have been told that formerly a woman must not step over the green shoot of a sprouting yam, though this is not now regarded, and young women of the present generation whom I have questioned know nothing of it. It was also tabu for anyone to step over a fishing net whilst it was being made.

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[P.58-C]

[Caption is on P.59]

39 Gerstle & Raitt C,Q-4,5 (1952-1972) 1974 OU9 Tonga OU9

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39· Gerstle & Raitt C,Q-4,5 (1952-1972) 1974
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39: Gerstle & Raitt C,Q-4,5 (1952-1972) 1974 OU9 Tonga OU9

# KINSHIP AND BEHAVIOUR IN A TONGAN VILLAGE

*Grandparents and Grandchildren*

602 603 784 [264] No *tapu* is observed between the grandparents and grandchildren. The latter may touch the head of the former and eat the balance of their food. An old man who lives with his daughter's family does not dictate to his grandchildren at all, because it is their father's concern.

*Brothers and Sisters*

593 784 602 [291] [513] [516] [521] [764] [264] Brother and sister: The relationship between them is still an outstanding feature of Tongan kinship. A number of *tapu* were referred by the villagers. Brother and sister should respect (*faka-apaapa*) each other. They cannot see each other naked. At ten years of age, they have to sleep separately. A brother may enter the same room as the sister, but may not talk to her without sitting down. The sister may not come into the brother's room or hut except on a special occasion such as a funeral. They may not use each other's comb, bed, clothes or suitcase. They may take a meal together, must sit separately as far as possible, and must not use tableware in common, but if it is washed it may be used. [516] [195] [521] When the brother is beside the sister he may not eat while standing. They may not lie down where they are together. When addressed, the other must reply with *koau* politely. They may talk with each other except on such topics as a quarrel or love. When the sister is talking with someone, the brother should keep away from her lest he should overhear the conversation about an obscene matter. Each may not attend the wedding and [589] [764] [535] [276] [574] [758] funeral of the other. They may not dance together. The brother may not join a circle of *kava* drinking in which his sister is asked to make *kava*. The sister may cook and wash for him, but not his underwear. When one is ill and there is no one else to care for the patient, the other may nurse, but must stay as aloof as possible from the patient. At parting, one may shake hands or kiss the cheek of the other.

[264] Elder brother and younger brother: It is *tapu* for the younger brother to eat the food the elder brother leaves over and to wear his clothes.

Elder sister and younger sister: *Tapu* of the same nature as between the brothers are also found in the relationship between the elder and the [816] younger sisters. When one is delivered of a baby, the other may take care of her.

604 *Uncle, Aunt, Nephew and Niece*

602 [601] Towards the parallel uncle and aunt who are denoted *tamai* and *fa'e*, the attitude is just the same as towards one's own father and mother. On the other hand, an uncle (or aunt) loves his parallel nephew and niece as well as his own children.

*Paternal aunt (mehikitanga) and nephew and niece (fakafotu)*

607 604 784 [276] [764] [601] *Fakafotu* have to show much more respect to *mehikitanga* than to the father. The maximum of *tapu* is still found in their relation. They may not smoke while she is near. On her funeral they may not stay in a room where the corpse is laid. *Fakafotu* may *kole* (ask) something, but will be called robbers if they take it away without her permission.

54: Cook G,T-5 (1777) 1967 OU9 Tonga OU9



time we all faced about and formed a large semicircle before the Prince, leaving a large open place between us. Presently there appeared some men coming to wards us, two and two bearing large sticks or poles on their Shoulders making a noise like singing and waving their hands as they came. As soon as they got close up to us they made shew of walking very fast without advancing a single step; presently three or four men started up from the crowd with large sticks in their hands and ran to those new comers who instantly threw down the poles from their shoulders and ran off, and the others fell on these poles and beat them most unmercifully and then returned to their places. As the men ran off they gave the challenge usual in wristling, and not long after a number of stout fellows came from the same quarter, giving the Challenge as they advanced, these were opposed by a party who came from the opposite side almost at the same instant; these two parties paraded the Area for a few minutes and then retired each to his own side. After this there was wrestling and boxing Matches for about half an hour, then two men seated themselves before the Prince and made a speach address'd I thought wholy to him, with this the ceremony ended and the whole assembly broke up. I now went and examined the several Baskets which had been brought in, a thing I was not allowed to do before because every thing was then *Tabu*, but the ceremony being over they became simply what they realy were, viz. empty baskets, so that whatever they were supposed to Contain was emblematically represented, and so indeed was every other thing they brought in except the fish.

We endeavoured in vain to find out the meaning not only of the whole but the different parts of this ceremony, we seldom got any other answers to our enquir[i]es than *Tabu*, a word which as I have before observed is applied to many other things. But as the Prince was the principal person concerned in it, and we had been told by the King ten days before it happened, that the people would bring in yams for them two to eat and even described some part of the ceremony, we concluded from this and what we saw, that it was an Oath of Alligiancy or solemn promise which they made the Prince as the immediate successor to the Regale Dignity, to stand by him and to furnish him with the several articles that were here emblematically represented. But be this as it will the whole was conducted with a great deal of Ceremonious solemnity, and that it was mixed with a great deal of Religion is evident not only from the place where it was performed, but from the manner of performing it. Our dress and deportment had never been called in question on any account what-

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651 ever before. Now it was expected that we should be uncove[re]d as
796 low as the waist, that our hair should be loose and flowing over our
123 shoulders; that we should like them sit cross leged and at times in
292 the most humble posture with downcast eyes and hands locked to-
302 gether, all of which they themselves observed; lastly every one was
516 excluded but the Principle people and those who acted a part. These
651 to me were a sufficient testimony that they looked upon themselves
796 to be acting under the immediate eye of a Supreme Being. We were
782 told that a far greater or grandeur ceremony than this would be per-
formed on the same account in about three months time in which
ten Men were to be Sacrificed;[1] this is sufficient for us to beleive
that Human Sacrifices here as well as at Otaheite are considered as
necessary.

122 Before the Ceremony was over the day was far spent and as we
were some distance from the Ships and had an intricate Navigation
to go through, we made haste to be gone. When I took leave of the
648 Cheif he press'd me much to stay till the next day to see a funeral
643 Ceremony. This was the wife of Mariwaggy and Mother in Law to
766 the King, whose Corps, on account of the late Ceremony, lay on
board a Canoe in the Lagoon; he told me as soon as it was over he
would go with me to Middleburg, provide[d] I would wait, if not he
would follow, for if it had not been for the death of this Woman,
most of the Chiefs would have accompaned us to that island, all of
them having possessions there. I would gladly have waited to have
seen this Ceremony also had not the tide been now favourable for the
Ships to get through the narrows, and the Wind, which for several
days past had been very boisterous, Moderate and settled, and to
have lost this oppertunity might have detained us a fortnight longer;
beside we were told that the Ceremony would last five days and this
was too long for me to wait in a place where I could not put to sea
at pleasure. I however told him that If we did not sail I should cer-
tainly visit him again the next day, and so we all took leave and set
out for the Ships where we arrived about 8 o'clock in the evening.

123 I had forgot to mention that Omai was present at this last days
ceremony as well as my self, but we were not together nor did I know
651 he was there till it was almost over. Omai after wards told me that as
796 soon as the King missed me, he sent several people one after a nother
to desire me to come back, probably these Messengers were not ad-
mited to come where I was, for I saw nothing of them. At last word

[1] 'In about three months time' would mean October, the period of the regular *inasi* ceremony, the first-fruits or harvest festival described by Mariner; and men's lives could quite well be part of the harvest apportioned to the share of the gods. We cannot be dogmatic that Cook's 'on the same account' is either right or wrong.

54: Cook G,T-5 (1777) 1967 OU9 Tonga OU9



ures of the King of which he often complained. Neither is his Court more splendent than those of the two first, who are the two most powerfull cheifs in the islands, and next to them is Feenough, who is son to the first.[1]

There is a decorum observed in the presence of their great men and particularly the Kings, that is truly admirable. Whenever he sits down, whether it be in the house or without, all those with him seat themselves at the same time in a simicircle before him; leaving always an open convenient space between him and them, into which no one attempts to come, unless he has some particular business. Neither is any one allowed to pass, or sit behind him nor near him without his order or permission; so that we ought to have looked upon it as a mark of no little respect shewn us by be[ing] allowed this previlege.[2] When any one wants to speak with him, he comes and sits down before him, delivers what he has to say in a few words, receives his answer and then retires to the circle; but if the King speakes to any one in the circle he answers from his seat, unless it is to receive some order, in that case he comes and sits down before him.[3] In short to speak to the King standing would be here accounted as great a Mark of rudeness as it would be with us for a man to speak to his superior seting with his hat on and that superior on his feet uncovered.

Whenever he walks out every one whom he meets must set down till he is passt; no one is allowed to be over his head, on the contrary all must come under his feet, for there cannot be a greater outward mark of submission, than that which is paid to the King and other great people of these islands by their inferiors. The method is thus; they come and squat down before him, bow the head to the sole of his foot, which when he sits, is so placed that it can easy be come at, after rising the head they tap or touch the sole of the foot with the under and upper side of the finger of both hands then rise up and retire. It appeared that the King could not refuse any one who chose to pay him this compliment, for the common people would frequently take it into their heads to do it when he was walking and he was always obliged to stop and hold up one of his feet behind him till they had done; this to an heavy unweildy man, like him, must be attended with some trouble and pain, and I have seen him make a run, tho very unable, to get out of the way, or to a place where he

[1] See again p. 129, n.

[2] A privilege allowed, it seems, because though the Tu'i Tonga was lord of Heaven and Earth, the aura of *tapu* that surrounded him was esteemed peculiarly a Tongan thing, from the effects of which strangers, including Samoans and Fijians, were exempt. The prohibition arose from the fear of assassination.

[3] The rule was that a person must always be lower physically than one of higher rank when in the latter's presence.

55: Anderson D,T-5 (1777) 1967 OU9 Tonga OU9



pleas'd with hearing the Heeva of our two young New Zeelanders (from this change) which consists rather in mere strength than melody of expression.

Their weapons are clubs & spears which cost them a good deal of time & labour, the first being made of a solid piece of hard heavy wood either black or brown, but chiefly that of the E'tôâ tree. They are of various shapes but that they seem fondest of, & which they always us'd in their public diversions, is one shap'd like a lance at the blade but a good deal broader in the middle.[1] These are commonly plain, but a great number of the others which are somewhat quadrangular (except the handle) and broadest at the point are entirely carv'd in that part with lines, little triangles & other figures, sometimes with great nicety, and they frequently venture to make likenesses of Fish, Birds & men fighting but are poor imitators in that respect. The spears are made likewise of a hard brown or black wood (though sometimes from the Cocoa tree) from five & six to twelve feet long or more, generally simply pointed but sometimes beset all round with the ragged bones of the stingrays tail for a foot at the point. They also make bows and arrows, the first near six feet long, slender and neatly made with a groove for the reception of the arrow on its back part. The last are almost as long, being only a reed with a blunt wooden point which they only use to shoot birds with, but what is a little uncommon the bow is bent and drawn contrary to the direction of its natural curve. The stools are about two feet long but only four or five inches high and near four broad, bending downwards in the middle with four strong legs & circular feet, the whole made of one piece of black or brown wood neatly polishd & sometimes inlaid with bits of ivory. They also inlay the handles of fly flaps with ivory[2] after being neatly carv'd, and make small figures of men, birds and other things from bone, which must be very difficult as their carving instrument is only a Sharks tooth.

The floors of their houses are always coverd with a very coarse kind of matt made from the Cocoa leaf as taken from the tree without any preparation. They sit upon these cross legg'd, a posture they are so accustom'd to that they cannot do the smallest thing without being in it. The better sort have often a finer matt to sit on, & the same is us'd as a bed with a stool under their heads when they go to sleep and a covering of the pieces of cloth they wear. Men, women & children lye in the same place without seperation, unless a few who have a

[1] The foregoing sentence seems to be describing a spear, *tao*, the next one the clubs, *akau*, even though in the one next succeeding Anderson reverts to spears. Both were made of Toa, *Casuarina equisetifolia*.

[2] Again whale tooth ivory, Tongan *lei*.

56: Samwell D,T-5 (1777) 1967 OU9 Tonga OU9



presented us with consisted of Fish and Yams baked, which were very well cooked.

After he saw our people make themselves welcome he went to his own Supper, which consisted also of baked Yams & Fish with the addition of some pudding made of the meat of the Cocoa nut, some Cocoa nuts stripped of the Husk & some Cups filled with good fresh Water; the Men who brought the Provisions went away as soon as they had laid down their loads, and as they retired paid their respects to Powlohow by sitting down cross legged & rising again immediately; the Table off which he supped was a clean Matt laid upon that he sat upon, a basket was opened from which some fresh Plantain Leaves were taken out, unfolded & laid upon the Matt before him, & the Yams & fish laid upon them, but the Pudding remained in the Leaves in which it had been prepared. Two Chiefs[1] waited upon him, poured some water on his Hands while he washed them, peeled his Yam & picked the Fish & then fed him, one putting Fish in his Mouth the other Yam. He did not eat much: as soon as he had done the two feeders got their Supper, & then every thing was removed & what was not eaten put into the Baskets & put by in the House, they eat their Supper just without in the open air. Soon after Supper was over He desired the two Chiefs to make preparations for his going to sleep, on which they unrolled & spread out on the floor of the House a large Matt & after that a great parcel of Cloth & laid one of their Wooden bolsters at hand. Powlohow soon laid down & addressed himself to sleep, and the Chiefs covered him over with the Cloth & then laid themselves on each Side of him.

In a few minutes after a young Woman came into the House & sat down by him, it was naturally concluded that she was one of his Mistresses but in this we were mistaken; her office was to lull the old King to rest by tapping him with both Hands as quick as possible on different parts of his body. He was much troubled with an asthmatick Complaint which frequently waked him, on which the young woman immediately renewed the Tuggee tuggee[2] as it is called & laid him again asleep. After having been about an hour and a half busily employed in this manner, finding him fast asleep she respectfully kneeled down & took her leave of him by kissing his feet & touching them with her head, however there are always women in waiting in case he should happen to wake. Everything had gone on hitherto very quietly at the Tents, but in the night the Guard was alarmed with the Cry of Murder help &c. A file of Marines went directly to the place where the Cry was heard, where they found one

[1] *matapule*, titled ceremonial attendants. [2] *tukituki*.

56: Samwell D,T-5 (1777) 1967 OU9 Tonga OU9



our Cloth & matting very strong & neatly made, some of these are brown others quite white & they are always fringed. They have also various kinds of Matts with fringes & tossels worked on them which they wear upon extraordinary Occasions, they also wear over all round the middle a dress made of Leaves more for ornament than use, & they wear one like it but less about their necks, which they also ornament with Necklaces made of Shells, but these soon gave way to our blue beads of which they were extravagantly fond both men & women. The common Dress of the Chiefs & which seemed to distinguish them from the common people was a large piece of Cloth round their waist & plaited at the upper part, which is done by the women with the same Care & nicety as Shirts are plaited in England tho' the folds are not near so fine. This was no unbecoming Dress, they oil their Hair & Shoulders with Cocoa nut oil after bathing, & thus dress'd and decorated an Amsterdam Chief cuts no despicable appearance. They wear their Hair long, flowing over their Shoulders, but they are obliged to cut it off on particular Occasions such as the Death of the Chiefs or of their relations, and for the same Reason both men & women & even Children cut off their little fingers: many of them have both cut off, there are but very few that have not lost one, they cut it off just underneath the first joint, tye up the Stump with grass & leaves[1] & it soon heals, they cut them off with stone Chizels & then bury them in the ground. Their Arms & Cheek bones are also marked in memory of the dead. Their walk is strait & majestic & their manners free & open. In their Dispositions they are friendly hospitable & humane, very tender to & careful of old People and the Sick, & civil & obliging to each other, treat their women well. I was much pleased with the following instance of their gratitude which I happened to be a witness to. A large Sailing Canoe having got her rigging entangled with the Resolution's driver boom was in danger of carrying away her Mast, & the Indians had made several Efforts but in vain to disengage it, which a young Gentleman who had the Watch upon deck observing ordered one of the Men to assist them, who thinking it no part of his duty growled about it & was very unwilling to go, on which the gentleman jumped on the boom himself & got the Canoe clear; the Indians then insisted upon his accepting a large bunch of Cocoa nuts as a present for the Service he had done them, but this he would not accept tho' he was much pleased with the Offer.

[1] There can have been no uniformity of treatment. Anderson speaks of no treatment at all; Mariner says (II, p. 179) that after the operation the stump was merely 'held in the smoke and steam arising from the combustion of fresh-plucked grass', this stopping the flow of blood.

61: Kaeppler

OU9 Tonga OU9

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[For information on gestures and postures used in Tongan dance, see Category 535.]

535 Summary of Leg Kinemes

These eleven leg kinemes are those that are significant in the Tongan dance system. From this inventory we can now make statements about the use of the legs in this tradition. First we can say that the legs are always flexible at the knee. The main movements of the legs are straight steps to the front, back, or side, and the flexing of the knees. Leaps--that is, jumps from one foot to another--or large steps are not significant categories in Tongan dance. Perhaps this is because full use of the upper leg would be required for a leap or large step.

This limited use of the upper leg is probably most important for a characterization of Tongan leg movements. Although the upper leg certainly does move when taking steps or bending, it moves always as a result of movement of the lower leg and never for itself. In the earliest accounts of Tongan dance the dancers are described as being clothed between the waist and the knee. It was not considered in good taste to expose this part of the body and it was this part of the body that was tattooed in ancient Tonga.

535 291 [304]

To move the upper legs by themselves is called fakamahae.[1] Anyone, and especially a woman, who moves this part of her legs is considered to have very poor taste, and indeed, to be even vulgar.

516 517

[1] This word usually refers only to women.

535 516 Some of the M.I.c. movements are a stylization of movements of everyday or ceremonial life. Particularly important are those derived from the making of kava. M.I.c.21. depicts the squeezing of the kava with water and M.I.c.22. depicts the arm movements of a part of the process of mixing kava. These movements can be used to refer to other actions, but usually are quite specific. I would conjecture that a few of the morphokines of group M.I.a. have a similar derivation and at one time referred to the making of kava, but have since lost their narrative meaning. For example, M.I.a.14., when done with two hands is called milolua which refers to the wringing of the kava strainer. Today it is sometimes used with this meaning and sometimes with other meanings. M.I.a.12. sometimes refers to the twisting of the kava strainer around the hand but sometimes does not. I would conjecture that M.I.a.10., called kako, derived from a stylization of wiping the rim of the kava bowl, although it is not used in that way today. Because these M.I.a. morphokines can have more than one meaning or no meaning at all depending on the arm position environment of group M.I.b., they are quite different in function from the primarily 535 narrative M.I.c. group. Thus, the element of narrative interpretation helps to distinguish the M.I.c. group from the M.I.a. group.

M.II.a. are leg morphokines which function two ways in the structure of the dance. First they help to define the genre (or conversely the genre specifies what M.II. morphokines will be used). For example, a dance which uses mainly or only M.II.a.1. and M.II.a.7.

[181 cont.]

because a fray had happened between the natives and our people. We joined him in a few minutes, and found with him the captain, and a file of marines, together with two natives, who sat on their hams, and from time to time pronounced the word wŏe, which signifies "friend." We supposed that the theft of Mr. Clerke's musket had given occasion to this disturbance; but this was too trifling a circumstance to be resented. The cooper, in mending the water-cask, was not sufficiently attentive to his adze, and one of the natives had snatched it up, and conveyed it away. The captain, in order to recover this valuable instrument, of which however there were no less than a dozen in the ship, ordered his people to seize several large double canoes, which had probably arrived from different adjacent islands. They performed his command, and Mr. Clerke's gun was brought back by the astonished natives. But this was not sufficient, and another canoe was seized. A native, who stood upon it, defended his property, which he had forfeited by no offence, and took up a spear, which he seemed resolved to employ with good effect. Captain Cook levelled his musket at him, and bid him lay [182] down his arms. He refused, and received a load of shot through his wrist and thigh, at the distance of eight or nine yards, which immediately brought him to the ground. The volley was now fired, and a boat sent off to the ship, where three cannon directed against the highest point of the island, were fired off one after another. It was thought that the natives would now have left us; but a great part still remained on the beach conscious of their innocence, and some canoes continued to ply about the ship. The behaviour of one of the natives upon this occasion was so remarkably stoical, that our people could not help taking notice of it. He had a small canoe in which he always met the other canoes before they reached the ship, took out what he liked, and paid their owners, a certain

?[sic! --- Analyst]

81: Bott E,P-4,5 (no date) 19 2 OU9 Tonga OU9



treat kava as if it were strong stuff. And so it is, but the strength comes from society, not from the vegetable kingdom.[3]

Before I describe the ceremony, here are a few background facts about the Kingdom. Tonga is a Polynesian society consisting of about 150 small islands with a population of about 70,000 people. It has a Treaty of Friendship with Great Britain, but has always been independent, never a colony, a fact of which Tongans are very proud. The people have been Christian for 130 years and virtually everyone can read and write. Tongans practise subsistence farming on small holdings, with coconuts and bananas as the main cash crops. There are no extremes of wealth or poverty. For the past 100 years government has assumed the form of a constitutional monarchy. Anyone who saw Queen Sālote of Tonga at the coronation of Queen Elizabeth in 1953 will not be likely to forget her. She is as memorable in Tonga as she is in Britain. She died in December 1965 and was succeeded by her eldest son, the present King Taufa'ahau Tupou IV.

## DESCRIPTION OF THE CEREMONY

The basic form of the kava ceremony is always the same, though it may vary from a small informal gathering of four or five people to a huge assemblage of several hundred people. It can be dressed up or down as the occasion requires. It takes place on many different sorts of occasion: when men visit each other just to talk; when welcoming home relatives who have been away; in courtship; at weddings; at certain points in a funeral; at the appointment of a king and later on at his coronation; and similarly at the appointment of a chief and on the occasion when he first presents himself and his villagers to his King.

*Figures 1* and *2* show the seating at an informal and at a formal ceremony. The participants sit cross-legged, with the chief whose title is genealogically the most senior at the head of the circle. He has an official called a matāpule on either side of



[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 210]

81: Bott E,P-4,5 (no date) 1972 OU9 Tonga OU9



as much as possible in the idiom of titles and their genealogical seniority.

The third major point about the ceremony is that *it expresses a fundamental contradiction.* We were first alerted to this aspect of the ceremony by comparing the many different social contexts in which it takes place. One thing all these social situations have in common is a confrontation of people of different status. In everyday life these people can be expected to harbour feelings of jealousy and resentment about their differential privileges. At the same time, in spite of the antagonisms, during the ceremony there is a strong feeling of being at harmony together in a group. As Tongans put it, 'You do not drink kava with an enemy.'

In brief, the ceremony says, 'We are all united,' but it also says, 'We are all different.' And the element of difference contains another contradiction, for it makes two contrary communications. It says, 'We are differentiated and interdependent,' but it also says, 'We are unequal. Our titles differ in seniority. And some of us do not have titles at all.' In other words the kava ceremony expresses ambivalence – the simultaneous presence of contradictory feelings. I do not mean that each participant in the ceremony becomes consciously aware of the sort of emotional ambivalence that I have described. Most people seemed to be more aware of feelings of unity and harmony than of feelings of antagonism and rivalry – or at any rate more willing to talk about feelings of unity and harmony. The feelings of antagonism showed themselves more in what people did than in what they said. At formal ceremonies we observed many minor breaches of *tapu*. One's hands should be clasped in one's lap throughout the ceremony, for example, but our photographs show that people often moved their hands about. Similarly people are not supposed to talk in a very formal ceremony, but people were whispering away almost all the time – usually uncomplimentary remarks about the way the ceremony was being conducted.

Within the prescribed events of the ceremony there is only a

89: Wood M,Y-4,5 (1924-1937) 1975
OU9 Tonga OU9



Baker had never linked his recall from Tonga in 1879 with the charges that were made against Brown about that time, but now, after ten years, he was alleging that his recall was the condition for the *nolle prosequi* against Brown. The fact was that the Chief Judicial Commissioner, Mr. Norrie, had wished to prosecute Brown before the Court of the High Commission for the Western Pacific, but Sir Arthur Gordon overruled him on the ground of insufficient evidence. This decision was approved in legal circles generally. 645 648

Brown demanded a withdrawal of this baseless charge, and he received an apology from Baker some time afterwards (11 September 1889). He took no action for libel, although he had ample material, but he sent the letter to Sir John Thurston who communicated with Sir Arthur Gordon, then in Britain. On 12 November Gordon wrote that the charge was utterly without foundation and was "mendacious and slanderous in the highest degree". In the meantime Baker had received from Thurston, on 9 September, a demand for a

> "full apology to be received within six weeks and a complete retraction of the libel against the Court of the High Commission."

The apology and withdrawal of the statements were given by Baker on 8 October 1889.

The Premier had fallen foul of other parties also. He had annoyed local European residents with his currency laws, and in July 1889 with his proposal to appoint a clerk from the German firm as Assistant Premier with responsibility for public finance. He had aroused the jealousy of the chiefs because of his influence with the king and his continued residence at the palace since the attempted assassination in January 1887. His absences in Auckland for about six months each year were another subject of criticism. By this time the Tongans as a whole disliked him so much that they were refusing to pay taxes, with the excuse of the current low price of copra. At every point his regime was under increased attack. 645 [563] [622] [643] [651]

With such a deterioration in the public life of the country, it was not surprising that Sir John Thurston took action. He arrived in H.M.S. *Rapid* in Nuku'alofa on 25 June 1890. He told the king that he required a council of three chiefs for negotiations. Baker spoke in opposition to this, but Thurston ignored him. The High Commissioner received sworn statements from chiefs which left him in no doubt about the widespread strong opposition to Baker and the breakdown in his government. He reported to the Colonial Office that Baker was "both feared and hated . . . unworthy of longer credit or confidence".[33] 645 648

On 5 July, Baker was given an order for his removal for two years, under the Pacific Order in Council, as a British subject whose presence was dangerous to peace and order. He left Tonga on 17 July.

On Baker's departure Thurston received extraordinary evidences of gratitude from the king as well as the chiefs and people. These indicated that many Tongans were relieved because of the ex-Premier's removal. The king in a private interview bowed his head to Thurston and placed his hand on the back of his head, an ancient and unusual token of submission. The public expression of thanks to Thurston had other unique features. Not only did almost the entire population of Tongatapu, led by the chiefs, make presentations to the High Commissioner, but a little child, descendant of the Tu'i Ha'atakalaua, Tungi's grandson, was carried to Thurston and gave him a miniature war club; this child was Tungi Mailefihi, then three years old, and the future consort of Queen Salote Tupou III. A line 645 648 643 [516] [574] 645 648 565

89: Wood M,Y-4,5 (1924-1937) 1975
0U9 Tonga 0U9



[1924-1942]

Trousers and black coats had been worn in imitation of Europeans, and old Free Church people particularly were addicted to this practice. While Fijian and Samoan preachers had their neat and comfortable native dress, their Tongan counterparts sweltered in their black suits. So conservative were members of Conference that permission was barely obtained, in 1932, for those College students who were local preachers to wear the *vala*. The same concession was obtained for theological students in 1934, and several years later the becoming native attire was adopted throughout the Free Wesleyan Church.

Gradually, other reforms were accepted. Illegitimate infants had not been baptized in church services, to mark the Church's strong disapproval of illicit sexual relationships; the reflection upon the infant was evidently thought to be immaterial. In a country where illegitimacy was over 17% of births, largely because the parties often preferred not to marry, and where no social stigma was attached to the child or its mother, it was incongruous that the Church should show discrimination in baptizing. Only a part of the service had been used in these cases, and this was done outside a church building. Even Dr. Moulton had felt that illegitimate children should be baptized quietly in his study or baptism left until a child was older. It was not until 1933 that Conference allowed baptism of an illegitimate child with the full service in the church, the mother accompanied by a male relative. The 1934 Conference allowed funeral bells to be rung, irrespective of the circumstances of birth or of death.

The 1934 Conference Minutes showed the care being exercised in the conduct of worship. Conference ruled that the elements in Communion were to be received kneeling (the old Wesleyan custom) and no one under fifteen years, normally, was to be a communicant. The Morning Prayer Liturgy, with chanting, in Dr. Moulton's translation, had been used only in the Wesleyan Church after 1885; the old Free Church people had looked askance at it even after its optional use had been authorized in 1924; they overlooked the fact that the early missionaries had used these forms in an older and weaker translation. Gradually the liturgical forms were adopted.

Music always played a prominent part in Tongan Church worship. Choir competitions, held in conjunction with the Annual Conference, were instituted in 1933. The Queen was one of the adjudicators on several occasions. Twice the finals, with a massed choir of over 1,000, were held in the Palace grounds before a vast assemblage. The 50th anniversary of the setting up of the Free Wesleyan Church was celebrated in 1935, when thirty-seven choirs took part in the competitions.

An exceptional incident occurred in 1934 when a relatively small number from the Free Church returned to the Free Wesleyan Church. A minister, John Malamala, with seventy people from the village of Kanokupolu, western Tongatapu, joined the Church.

Princess Fusipala, the Queen's step-sister, had been at school at Auckland for six years, and at Methodist Ladies' College, Hawthorn, for three years. After serious ill-health in Tonga, she went to Sydney for medical treatment but died there on 21 April 1933. Her body was brought to Nuku'alofa for interment in the royal tombs.

During World War II, on 21 July 1942, the Queen and the nation experienced the grievous loss of the Prince Consort and Premier, Tungi Mailefihi, who died

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873
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[P. 27-A]

Some members of a sewing class.

/69 cont./

593 784 his head in the mirror, without being actually stopped by their parents.

593 784 178 [513] The brother-sister taboo has remained stronger among all classes, although it too has been eased. Brother and sister may not, for example, sleep in the same house if they are more than nine or twelve years old. This taboo is still commonly observed in Tongan-style houses, and another small house is built for the sons, while the daughters may sleep in the house of the parents. In the [177] [513] European-style wooden houses one may occasionally observe this custom being relaxed, with the siblings sleeping in different rooms (with closed doors) of the same house. According to the ancient taboo, the brother was not permitted to come to the house of the sister, nor the latter to the brother's house. This prohibition has been relaxed; [516] for the siblings may go enter each other's dwelling by example, the sister wishes to enter the room in which her brother is sitting, near the entrance, she enters through another entrance, and her brother does not remain lying down or casually sitting, but gets up, straightens out his vala, and then sits down with properly crossed legs. The taboo against brother and sister eating together [264] has been relaxed to the extent that the siblings may partake of a meal in the same place and at the same time, but they must not sit next to, or near, each other. Whereas in old times, brother and [52] sister were not permitted to converse, and necessary question always had to be asked from outside through the hut's wall and answered from inside, today they speak together freely, but by no means about off-color subjects, and they conscientiously avoid all "bad words." According to the old brother-sister taboo, they were also not permitted to go for a walk together. Nowadays, this sometimes occurs.

This noticeable weakening of both the child-father taboo and the

331 /142 cont./
342 rest periods, make 110 rafters by early afternoon. Then they go back
335 to the building site and around 16 o'clock they each have an earth-
476 oven meal, prepared in the meantime by their wives and other women,
[461] [264] from the supplies of the "boss"; each man is served a portion (yams,
[262] manioc, kape, bananas, pork, beef) in a traditional coconut-leaf
[415] basket and with it a coconut mug containing fish soup. Thereafter the
[516] work in the village is resumed: five Tongans sitting crosslegged
"plane" the rafters by striking them with the small transverse hatchets
(fale-vatu si'i, toki taha-taha, toki tele) or with the machete, two
natives cut more rafters out of trunks which are brought from the
plantations, and 12 Tongans hold a kava gathering at the site to
"sanction" the building project, while three women prepare the
[264] [262] evening meal. This is eaten when twilight sets in (around 18:30):
everyone present gets three or four fried cakes and highly sweetened
orange-leaf tea in coconut bowls. Around 19 o'clock everybody goes
home.

342 On the second building day, while several younger natives split
313 off and plane more rafters and a kava circle of elders is gathered on
335 the building site, six Tongans and the carpenter go to the plantations
331 (after the fried-cake and orange-leaf-tea breakfast) to get sections
of curved beams (for the narrow sides of the new building). According
to an apparently very old system, these are cut out of coconut palm
342 trunks that have grown with a special curvature. Again the men work
335 with the big axe and the big transverse hatchet. From each palm a
331 curved section of beam is obtained. Around 13 o'clock- after they
[264] have cut up the seventh palm, they grow listless, build a fire, roast
a few green bananas in it, have a snack and then go back to the
village, leaving the remaining five palms of the day's quota for the
342 following day. Around 14:30, /143/ 'ota 'i mango (a refreshing drink
272 of grated green mangoes, grated coconut meat, water and sugar) is
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/149 cont./
have long since been replaced by sturdy English metal pots and kettles. Coconut-meat graters (hakalo) can be found in every household, but the natives have fastened to the tripods (tree branches) or to the simple boards, serrated, flat bar iron instead of shells. On the whole, only a few families still eat banana leaves (or leaves of the breadfruit tree). (395)

395. At feasts, however, banana leaves are still plentifully used.

Today, in all households, there are earthenware or tin plates, and cups and mugs for drinking. Many households own table knives, forks, and spoons which, however, are scarcely ever used, since people still generally eat with their fingers (often directly out of the bowls instead of on plates). Tin and earthenware jugs are common, and often one also sees glasses and glass pitchers for the popular native and European refreshing drinks.

The increase of imported European goods in Tongan households has in some cases increased to a complete adoption of European furnishing which may consist of beds, cupboards, chests of drawers, tables, easy chairs, straight chairs, wall clocks, framed pictures and even pianos, of which some things have been inherited by half-castes. Even in these cases, however, the old Tongan life has usually proved stronger than the compulsion for foreign furnishings, for the owner will continue to sit crosslegged on the floor.

Thus in the field of Tongan household equipment it is to be observed that essential elements of the old Tongan furnishings (seat mats, bed, kava bowl) have been preserved, though in altered forms, that some ancient cultural assets (headrests, certain baskets, lamps, bottle gourds, wooden containers) have been lost and are at present disappearing, and that many European objects have been adopted, which to the Tongans seems useful of superior to corresponding

/158 cont./

kape (less often taro or yams). With these tools they usually work standing. The former, apparently customary, squatting method of work (418)

418. See, for example, J. Wilson, A missionary voyage.../cited in English/ p. 245.

is used only by a few very old men. Plows as well as other agricultural machines and tractors are used by Tongans under the guidance of whites only on the state experimental farms on Tongatapu and on the property of Crown Prince Tungi on this island.

The following survey may give an insight into present-day agriculture and show the changes that have taken place.

'ufi - Yams (Dioscorea alata L.)

Even in ancient Tonga yams were one of the most important food plants (if not the most important crop). (419)

419. See J. Cook, Beschreibung...loc. cit. VI. pp. 163, 237, 283/284; W. Ellis, An authentic narrative...I. p. 89.

White employees in the Tongan government have so far discovered 80 varieties of yams in the Archipelago; more than 20 different names are familiar to the average Tongan. Yams are still the favorite tubers on all the islands, though their total cultivation has decreased in Tonga in comparison with the past (see above); in the Ha'apai group yams are today planted to a lesser extent, whereas their cultivation on the larger islands of the Archipelago (for example, Tongatapu) is still quite extensive and in some places probably corresponds to that of the past.

Planting time--with certain shifts as a result of the long north-south extension of the Archipelago--extends from June to the first days of August and from the third week of August up to October-November. As a rule, a yam crop is planted only on land that has rested; suitable

/196 cont./ Kava (510)

276
574 510. See p. 144 ff.

is drunk--as always--chiefly at social gatherings, on ceremonial occasions and before gala meals.

264
[198] Most Tongans eat only two meals a day, as in the past. In the morning (between nine and eleven o'clock) they eat a rather large quantity of food, and in the afternoon (between 17 and 19 o'clock) they have a meal almost as large, at which they use any leftovers from the morning meal; the portions consumed by adults seem astonishingly large to Europeans. On Sundays they usually have an earth-oven meal after the second morning service, around 10 or 11 o'clock, /197/ the leftovers from which they often eat in the afternoon as their second meal. In the larger towns of Nuku'alofa, Neiafu and Pangai, however,
[177] many families have gone over to the European example of having three
[184] meals a day (between 8 - 9, 12 - 13, and 18 - 19 o'clock), the first of which is often a breakfast of white bread. Thus, out of 92 households investigated in the remote village of 'Uiha, 89 have two meals a day and only three have three meals, whereas in Fungamisi, the "suburb" of Neiafu, out of 37 households checked, 22 have two meals and 15 have three meals a day. The great distance of plantations from the
[252] villages is, in some instances, the reason why the natives also have "bush meals" (511)

511. Food roasted in embers or stewed in the earth-oven.

at irregular hours if they feel the need for them during their plantation work.

264
412 Though spoons, forks, and knives are nowadays present in most households, the Tongans as a rule still eat with their fingers, as in
[516] pre-European times. They sit cross-legged in front of the meals they have been served, tear off, press, or cut off (512)

512. With a machete or table knife instead of

/276 cont./

872 the Tongan language and takes place on all the inhabited islands of the Archipelago, from Monday to Friday, from 8 to 13 o'clock. Vacations are in June (about four weeks) and from mid-December to the end of January. Half-yearly examinations are held and grades given out.

[875] The teachers who teach the mixed classes of boys and girls are mostly Tongans; only six schools have white teachers. Schoolbooks are mostly the property of the teachers. The children are taught with the help of blackboards and have notebooks, pens and ink. The schoolhouses, [346] most of which are built of wood in European style (with corrugated iron [177] roofs), are partly in bad repair. While the children of the lower grades 872 sit on the floor in Tongan fashion, the intermediate and upper classes 875 are in part provided with school benches--A certain drawback in this [516] elementary school teaching is the much too small number of male and [352] female teachers. Moreover, the teachers do not all have the necessary [191] knowledge; some of them teach English, for example, and are themselves unable to speak English fluently.

873 Two of the intermediate schools /cited in English/ run by the Free Wesleyan Church are attended only by girls (between the ages of 11 and 18) who therewith complete their schooling or go on to college. The subjects [875] of the primary schools are here developed further. The teaching staff consists of white and Tongan teachers.

There are ten "secondary schools" /cited in English/ (colleges) in the Tonga Archipelago, one run by the government, four by the Wesleyan Mission, two by the Roman Catholic Church and one each by the Mormon Mission, the Anglican Church and the Adventist Mission. The male and female pupils are aged 11 to 18 (21) and attend the colleges for about five years. In 1950 (754)

754. See Report of the Department of Education...p. 3.

there were 1650 boys and girls (commoners as well as nobles) at these educational institutions. Most of them are boarding schools to which

100: Koch--516 E-4,5 (1951-1952) 1955 OU9 Tonga OU9

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17. Pounding bast strip to make tapa

[End Plate 9]